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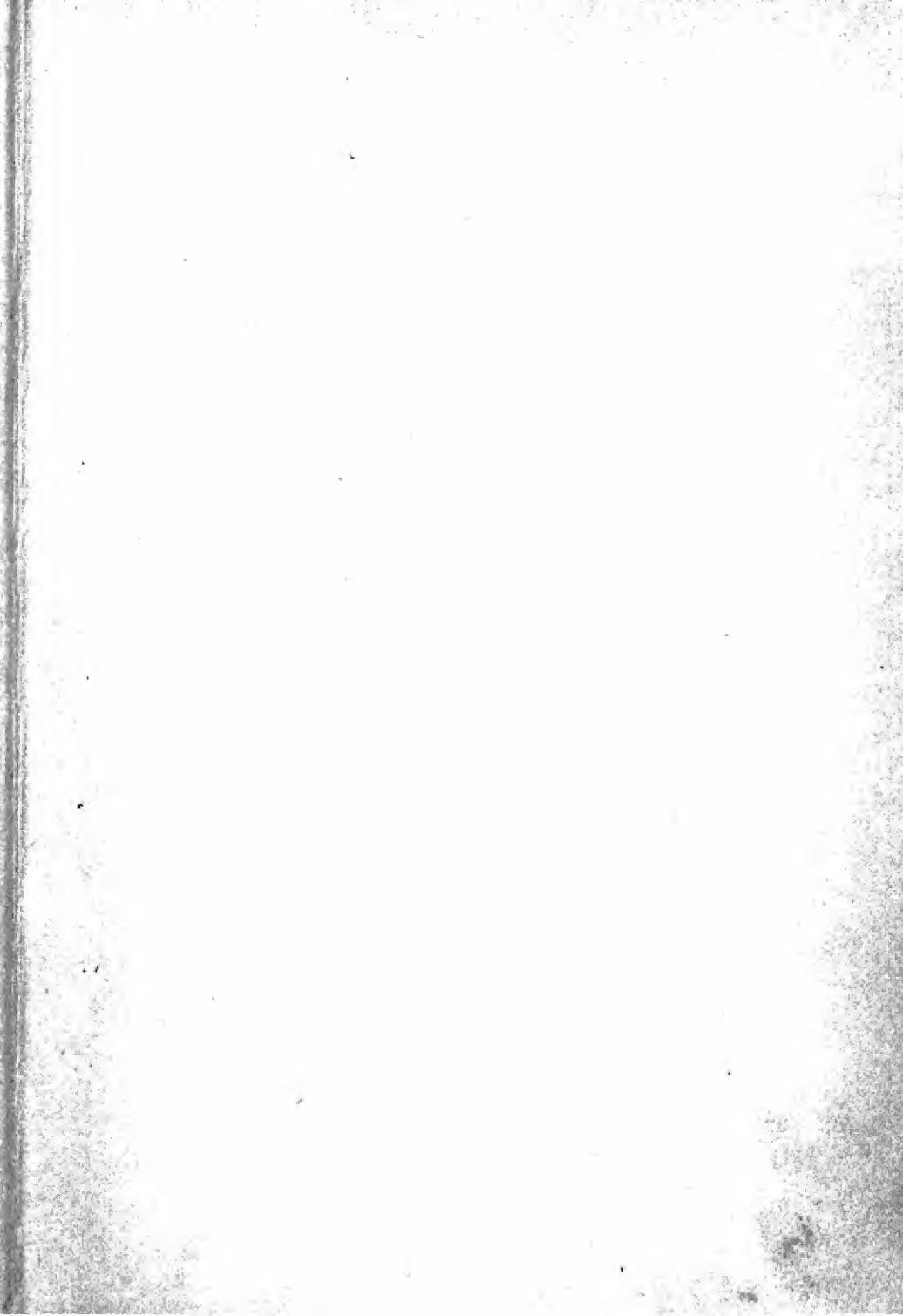
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MARTIN CLASSICAL LECTURES

These lectures are delivered annually at

 OBERLIN COLLEGE

on a Foundation established in honor of

 CHARLES BEEBE MARTIN

LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

EPIGRAPHICA ATTICA

MARTIN CLASSICAL LECTURES

VOLUME IX

BY

BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey



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CAMBRIDGE : MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1940

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THE MARTIN CLASSICAL LECTURES
VOLUME IX

The Martin Foundation, on which these lectures are delivered, was established by his many friends in honor of Charles Beebe Martin, for forty-five years a teacher of classical literature and classical art in Oberlin College

PREFACE

THESE lectures, which were delivered in Oberlin upon the Charles Beebe Martin Foundation in November 1939, are here printed in a somewhat modified form. Their substance is the same, but especially in the field of epigraphy one's oral presentation must dispense with the rather cumbersome citations and references which convention seems to require for the justification of a written argument.

The central theme is very simple. The author has wished to show by example that inscriptions cannot be studied satisfactorily without proper attention to the physical properties of the stones on which they were inscribed. He hopes the reader will not take it amiss that the illustrations are drawn largely from his own experience with the documents of Athens. There is no attempt to cite all the examples that might be used to show the desirability of such complete study, and every epigraphist will doubtless call to mind equally good examples of his own. The main purpose of the volume is to emphasize the importance to the text of a knowledge of its medium.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to Mr. W. Kendrick Pritchett for reading the manuscript and to Miss Margot Cutter for her patience and care in its preparation. It is a pleasure also to record my obligation to the skilled staff of the Harvard Uni-

PREFACE

versity Press, who have supervised the reading of proofs and done the actual printing.

My stay at Oberlin was made delightful by the courtesies of many friends, especially Professor and Mrs. Lord, Professor and Mrs. Schlesinger, and Professor and Mrs. Edward Capps, Jr. To these I wish to express my warm sense of obligation.

B. D. M.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

NOVEMBER 11, 1939

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I
READINGS



THE study of inscriptions from classical lands as source material for history is almost as old as any of the accepted disciplines. Not to mention the use made by the ancients themselves — Herodotus and Thucydides, for example — of individual epigraphical monuments, we have from antiquity many quotations and fragments preserved from collections made by eminent scholars.¹ The fact that such collections were made is an item of evidence for the universal nature of the spirit of inquiry which animated ancient classical scholarship, while the preservation of such meagre remains as have been preserved is due to the use made of these books in ancient scholarly research.

Over the span of years which separate the ancient from the modern world these published collections have disappeared, and the originals from which their authors worked have been in large part buried, broken, or destroyed. The task of the modern epigraphist has been to save as much as possible from the wreckage.

It is not too much to say that in the field of Greek epigraphy the cornerstone of modern study was laid by August Boeckh, with his conception of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.² The first volume of this extensive folio publication bears on its title page the date 1828. Collections by modern scholars had been

made before then, and collections by yet others to come were made before Boeckh's successors completed the edition of his work in 1859 and added the indexes in 1877. But Boeckh's *Corpus* may still claim to be our fundamental publication in Greek epigraphy, and it endures as one of the great monuments to the organizing genius of German scholarship.

The student will notice within the last hundred years a great increment of separate studies which cover special and sometimes more or less arbitrary geographical districts, and more and more in later years he will find a tendency to group inscriptions by classes for the sake of comparative study.³ It is not our purpose here to discuss the history of these studies and the many obvious advantages of the new classifications,⁴ or even to follow the development of the larger *Corpora*; it is rather to call attention to one marked difference between the ancient and the modern collections. Complete documents are now the exception rather than the rule, so that the modern editor must repair by restoration as much as he can of the damages done during the dark ages. Fragmentary inscriptions require supplements and reconstruction, which of course are conditioned by, and in turn condition, the interpretation of the texts. Very few inscriptions have any great importance merely as works of art or for the beauty of their letter-forms apart from content; hence the recovery of as much of the content as possible — and this usually implies

restoration — is the necessary even though perilous task of the epigraphist. The modern student cannot escape this responsibility, but he must use every means at his disposal to guarantee that his work shall be as objective as possible, and that the final published result of his researches shall not be an epigraphical impossibility.

We have been slow to learn how to use all available evidence. This fact is due to the conditions under which the first collections were made, and the perpetuation of early disadvantages has been largely a matter of habit or of convenience. Boeckh himself made no tour of inspection to visit and record the monuments he published. His task as editor kept him in Berlin, and he used notes supplied to him by many correspondents. These notes were two-dimensional affairs, which frequently gave no information about the height, width, or thickness of the stone, or about the exact extent of possible margins and disposition of the letters. Early drawings could in many cases be called accurate only by courtesy, and photography was not yet available to make its contribution to the precision which is now possible in epigraphical study.

The epigraphical document thus was treated like a manuscript, and this technique of dealing with it has persisted in some measure through the subsequent editions of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* even into the volumes of the *Editio Minor*. A considerable advance over the treatment of the inscription merely as a

manuscript was made with the introduction and general use of paper impressions called squeezes.⁵ These impressions have the great advantage over a hand-written copy in that they carry the exact impression of the surface of the stone. A squeeze shows accurately the form, the shape, and the size of every letter, and it gives the disposition of these letters in their proper relation to one another. The squeeze facilitates enormously the study of inscriptions by enabling one to take, as it were, a facsimile of the stone with him from the place of its discovery to the quiet of his own library, where he can work upon the text at his leisure. It must be said also that a well-made squeeze frequently brings out traces of letters so that they may be read and interpreted when sometimes the surface of the actual stone itself is very hard to read and no interpretation seems possible. There have been some improvements made within recent years in the preparation of these squeezes,⁶ but study from them must still concern itself primarily with the inscribed surface of the stone and not so much with the stone itself. At the present time the most nearly complete collection is that which has been built up in the archives of the Berlin Academy, but for the inscriptions of Athens there are now fairly complete collections at Oxford and at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, the latter containing also approximately 6000 documents recently excavated in the Athenian Agora by the American School of Classical Studies.



FIG. 1. PART OF TRIBUTE-QUOTA LIST 27. OBVERSE FACE

From squeezes alone one can sometimes know whether a stone was broken away at the left or the right, or whether the original top or bottom edge was preserved. They give no indication of thickness, and only rarely have they been fully utilized to show the relation of front to side or of side to reverse, even when more than one surface of the stone was inscribed. Many examples of the shortcomings of this type of two-dimensional record might be cited, but those named here will be sufficient for purposes of illustration.

One of the tribute-quota lists of the Athenian Empire, which is now assigned to the year 428/7 B.C., contains two fragments which join together and which have the right margin preserved.⁷ The existence of this right margin has been known for a long time (Fig. 1). The record of the upper piece goes back to a publication by Boeckh in 1835.⁸ The lower fragment was first published by Lolling in 1888.⁹ Two of the items listed in the text of the obverse face broke off at the margin and were completed in the early editions by restoration. For Μυριαῖοι πα the text in *I.G.*, I, 250, is Μυριαῖοι πα[ρὰ Κύμην], and for Χερρονε the text in *I.G.*, I, Suppl. p. 175, no. 272 *d*, is Χερρονή[σου]. Below the line in which the word Χερρονέ[σο] supposedly stood, the words [τὸμ φόρον?] were added as object of ἀπέδοσαν, which is preserved on the stone. These restorations were repeated by Cavaignac in 1908.¹⁰

It was not until 1914, when A. M. Woodward had studied the stones again in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, that he found the complement of both abbreviated phrases around the corner of the stone on the right lateral face,¹¹ and was able to make correct readings (Fig. 2). His comments were as follows: "In the stele composed of the fragments *J.G.* i. 250, 261, i. *Suppl.* 272 *d*+272 *e*, as connected by Wilhelm, it is to be noted that the right-hand edge of the slab is preserved. In l. 2 of i. 250 the engraver having no room to complete his item on the face has written the last seven letters on the right-hand edge of the stele, thus:

face edge
MYPINAIOIΠ/ΙPAKYMEN.

Similarly in l. 5 of i. Suppl. 272 *d* the reading is $\times E P P O N E | \leq 101 \times$, i.e. Χερρονεστοιος | ($\sigma \nu \tau \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \varsigma$ δσαι etc.). Cavaignac in discussing the stone seems to ignore the fact, stated in the *Corpus*, that the r. edge is complete (though no mention is made there of the letters on the edge of the stele), and restores Χερρονέ[σο], genitive singular, and in the next line $\alpha \pi \epsilon \delta \sigma \sigma \alpha \nu$ [$\tau \delta \mu \phi \delta \sigma \nu$]. But the N of the verb is under the N of Χερρονε[σο] in the line above, and thus there is only one space after it on the face of the stele: as this is blank, and there are no letters carried over on to the right-hand edge in this line, the rubric clearly ends with the word $\alpha \pi \epsilon \delta \sigma \sigma \alpha \nu$, which has thus no object."

The customary habit of paying attention only to the principal inscribed surface of an epigraphical document here delayed the complete reading of the



FIG. 2. PART OF TRIBUTE-QUOTA LIST 27. RIGHT
LATERAL FACE

text for almost a century after the first fragment was discovered, although the existence of the edge was known and although the letters are clearly cut and perfectly legible upon it.

In this particular instance the inscription upon the lateral face was merely a part of that which belonged to the obverse face itself. At times the relation of the two faces of the stone is of more vital importance in the establishment of the text of both of them. Where two contiguous faces bear inscriptions it is of course obvious that fragments of the stone which join to determine a definite disposition of text in face A must, by the same fact of contiguity, determine an equally definite relative disposition of their texts in face B.

Parts of the Athenian tribute-quota lists for the years 436/5 to 434/3 are preserved on what used to be called the "Second Stone." These fragments are united into a solid compact group which reaches from the top of the stele down to the bottom of the very last inscribed line (Fig. 3). Now it so happens that significant fragments from this principal face, which we may here call face A, appear again around the corner of the stone in the lateral face, which we may call face B. A glance at the drawing will show that there is a lacuna in the lateral face which falls between fragments 65 and 5 from the upper group, and fragments 18 and 9 from the lower group. If one had only the evidence of face B from which to work it would be impossible here to determine with any

exactness the extent of this lacuna, or to suggest how many names would have to be supplied in the Ionic panel of column I in the tribute-quota list of 433/2, or in the Thracian panel of column II in the same inscription. One will note in the older editions, e.g., *I.G.*, 1, 244, that the extent of the lacuna is in fact left indeterminate, nor is it defined in the publication of 1924 in *I.G.*, 1², 212. The reason, of course, is that in these publications the text of each inscription was being considered in manuscript form by itself alone and that only evidence of a two-dimensional character was being utilized. As a matter of fact, the definite fixation of the fragments here in face A gives an accurate fixation also in face B, and there need no longer be any doubt as to the extent of the lacuna in the list of 433/2 or as to the number of names to be there supplied. This determination was first made with a three-dimensional use of the evidence by Meritt and West in their publication in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* in 1927.¹²

It is of some importance to know how many names the various panels of 433/2 may have contained, for this is one of the years in which it is possible to get a fairly accurate idea of the amount of tribute which Athens actually collected from her empire. There have been made in recent years several attempts to determine this approximate figure. In the summary given in his *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Tod has reached the conclusion that the total amount collected was about 390 talents. Another estimate

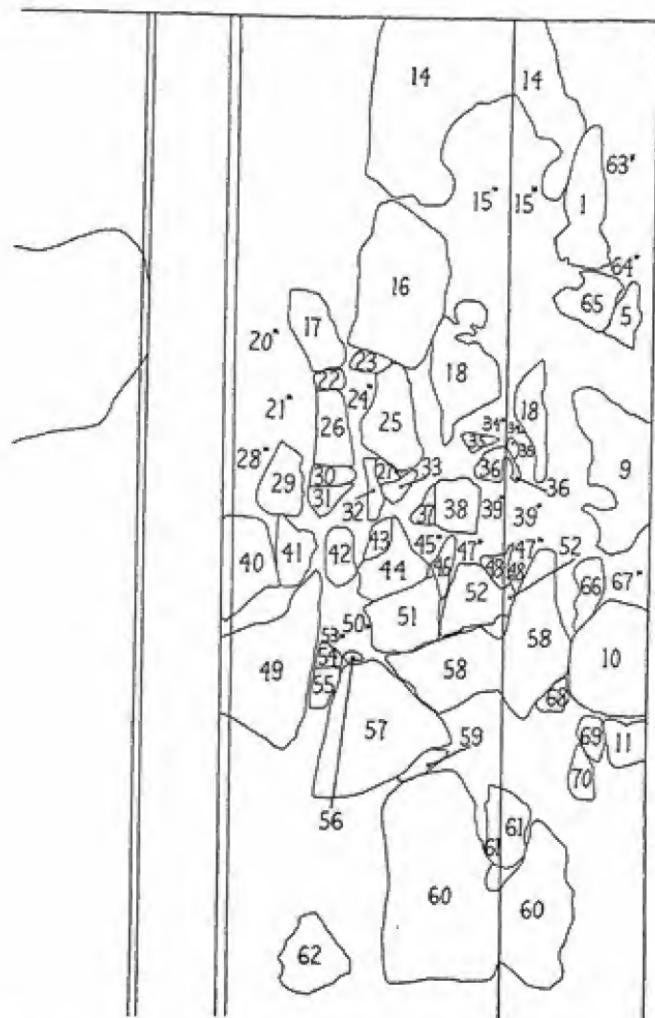


FIG. 3. A GROUP OF FRAGMENTS FROM THE SECOND STONE

made only a few years ago yielded approximately the same total.¹³ A somewhat higher figure was obtained on the basis of calculations made by Nesselhauf (*Klio*, Beiheft xxx, p. 108) but the suggestion of Nesselhauf rests in part upon his belief that the lacuna between the upper and lower fragments of the inscription might possibly be expanded by the addition of extra names.¹⁴ This might be possible if face B could be divorced from face A and considered by itself separately and alone, as had always been the custom in the past, but such separate consideration would imply a return to the purely two-dimensional conception of the monument, and a renunciation of the additional evidence which the third dimension must supply in any complete and satisfactory reconstruction. Whether or not we will ever know the precise names that must be supplied in the lacuna in question, it is absolutely certain that we know already the number of lines available for whatever supplement may be suggested. The physical properties of marble being what they are, it is not possible to expand or contract the lacuna of face B without following the consequences through into face A, and there no change can be made.

This so-called "Second Stone" of which we have been speaking was made the subject of study by Dietrich Fimmen about a quarter of a century ago when he published his results in the *Athenische Mitteilungen* for 1913.¹⁵ Fimmen's results marked an advance over all previous publications because he

was able to show that this "Second Stone" and another, which was traditionally called the "Third Stone," were part of the same original monument. In fact, Fimmen was able to read certain letters on the reverse face of the "Third Stone" where the surface had been all but chiseled away by some post-classical mason. Recognizing from the size and disposition of the letters that he was dealing with one of the annual prescripts which belonged with what we have been calling face A of the Second Stone, Fimmen made a combination of fragments which allowed a continuous restoration of the text of this prescript across both halves of the original stele. Once again the determination which he made upon the broad surface of the stone carried with it certain inevitable consequences in the lateral face of his new fragments. Although the restoration which he offered had the virtue of taking into account the evidence of the monument as a whole, his definitive reconstruction did not in the end prove to be correct because these consequences in the lateral face were not followed through to their logical conclusion. Fimmen had believed that the letters which he read for the first time upon the badly damaged surface of the "Third Stone" belonged with the prescript of the tribute-quota list of 434/3. Had this been true, then in the list of the lateral face, which belongs to the year 432/1, the disposition of fragments must inevitably have been such that for the Ionic and Helle-s pontine panels in that year lists would have been

created which were far too long for the number of cities available for restoration.

A study of these panels in comparison with the other panels of the same assessment period led Allen West to suspect that the new letters read by Fimmen belonged not to the prescript of *I.G.*, 1², 211, but rather to the prescript of *I.G.*, 1², 210. West did not have at the time the opportunity for work with the stones themselves in Greece, but in a general way he was able to determine from the indications of the margin, as published by Kirchhoff in the first volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, something of the relationship between the letters from Fimmen's reverse face of the stone and the better preserved letters of the lateral surface. Here again was a case where the merely two-dimensional contemplation of the document did not give all the necessary evidence for its proper reconstruction. But even with the imperfect knowledge which West was able to glean from the old *Corpus* and from Fimmen's report, he was able to demonstrate through the evidence of the lateral surface that upon the reverse Fimmen's prescript really belonged to the list of 435/4. His first solution of the problem was published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* in 1925. Necessarily it lacked precision because of the incomplete evidence at his disposal, but in some measure a letter of inquiry directed to friends in Athens remedied this defect.¹⁶

This additional advance which West was able to make illustrates the advantages which the majuscule

text of the old *Corpus* might give to a student who could not himself have immediate access to the stones themselves. West's restoration might have been impossible and the correct solution might never have suggested itself to him had he been compelled to depend solely upon the transcribed text of the *Editio Minor* (*I.G.*, 1², 209-211, 213).

When the editors of the Berlin *Corpus* were making their plans for the *Editio Minor* it was perhaps inevitable, in view of the great expense of publication and the considerable increase in the number of documents with which they had to deal, that they should have abandoned the majuscule reproductions which formed the basis for the text in the earlier edition. At first glance one may be inclined to regret this curtailment in the scope of the new publication. As a matter of fact, the practice of publication now recognizes that majuscule text set in type must give way, in the interests of accurate presentation, to the line drawing and the photograph. It is a significant fact in the history of epigraphical publication that drawings and photographs have been more and more usual in individual publications just at the time when the Berlin Academy has largely abandoned the original scheme of its *Editio Major*.

There have, of course, been drawings in the past, and where they exist for the early published documents (some of which are now lost) they are immensely valuable. But the custom of giving a drawing in connection with the publication of an

inscription has been more or less in abeyance since the days of the pioneers, so that the present very general use of drawings (and photographs) is, relatively speaking, a new development in the discipline of epigraphy and one which has made greater advance with Hellenists than with Latinists. The *Editio Minor* of the Attic *Corpus* may not itself be able to include such illustrations, but the bibliographical notes can now more and more give reference to preliminary publications where photographs are available. Tod, in his new edition of *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, has made a special point of referring to publications where photographs are to be found. We are still far from the ideal of having a photograph for every preserved inscription, and the published texts of the *Corpus* still depend largely on the old printed majuscule of the first edition,¹⁷ but the number of old inscriptions now republished with photographs is increasing rapidly, and new inscriptions, wherever possible, are printed with accompanying photographs.¹⁸ These illustrations give every student a ready control over the text as read by the editor, and frequently make possible early correction or improvement.¹⁹ Much depends on the condition of the stone, and on the way the photograph is made, as to whether a squeeze or photograph is more satisfactory for use in determining a text. In doubtful cases both should be used, for they complement each other, and in the last analysis one must have recourse in case of doubt to the stone itself.

There is seldom trouble in the reading of a well-preserved inscription. The difficulty begins when, for whatever reason, the surface of the stone is not well preserved. It may be badly weathered, battered, corroded, or deliberately defaced, and in every case one must use every device at his disposal for recovering the text. We have already called attention to the insistence which Dow lays upon having numerous good squeezes. For the best results, one should also have numerous good photographs.²⁰ These should not all be made with the light coming from the same direction, for certain strokes and letters appear very clearly in one light which do not show at all well in another. One must bear in mind, when reading a published photograph, that the editor may have found it impossible to select one print which would show clearly all letters, and even the most generous publisher still hesitates to sanction the printing of four or five different views of the same inscribed surface merely for the sake of an extra detail. Furthermore, most illustrations that are included in the body of a published work are rendered by the half-tone photo-engraving process and something of the detail is bound to be lost, however fine the screen employed. A monochrome collotype is superior to any photo-engraving, and one is always grateful to the publisher when this method of reproduction can be used. The volume recently published by Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, is a good example of the excellent results that are obtained by this method.

Yet even the half-tone engraving has many advantages, and if well printed may give the student an opportunity to do much toward deciphering a difficult text. There is now, for example, in the Museum at the Athenian Agora an inscription of the archonship of Eunikos which records an Athenian decree giving a vote of praise to the man who brought back from Macedonia the news of the Roman victory at Pydna in 168 B.C. This inscription was discovered face down in the position in which it was used as a cover slab over the great drain which ran through the center of the Agora. The surface of the marble is so badly corroded that in many places it now seems quite smooth and almost uniform in its disintegrated texture. For the difficult passages of this inscription a squeeze, no matter how good, is of no use whatsoever. As much as could be read from the stone was published in *Hesperia* in 1934 (vol. III, no. 18) and at the same time photographs were printed in order to give the critical student every possible control over the text. As a matter of fact, these photographs proved easier to read than the stone itself, and it was possible for A. M. Woodward to use the published version in his own study in Sheffield, far from the actual stone, and to make significant additions to the first publication. The photographic prints, from which the published half-tones were copied, were at the same time being studied by the original editor in Princeton with results that confirmed many of Woodward's new readings and added still others. The

text as now deciphered was published in *Hesperia* in 1936 (vol. v, no. 17). Here was a typical case where little could be done with the stone itself, where practically nothing could be done with a squeeze, and where a photograph made possible the decipherment of a large and significant portion of the text. A photograph of the more legible portion is published here (Fig. 4), so that the reader may try his skill in deciphering.

The Pentelic marble of Athens contains a certain amount of iron, and in the course of weathering a faint trace of its brown oxide may be all that is left upon a perfectly smooth surface to show where the letters were once inscribed. It may be presumed that where the letters once existed this oxide was longer protected when the surface of the stone was being worn down by the gradual process of detrition. If one studies now the badly worn surface of *I.G.*, 1², 216, he will find that many of the letters on its surface can be distinguished only by the faint traces of the rust of iron. No squeeze and no ordinary photograph is of much help in the study of this document.^{xx}

Not every epigraphist is a photographer, though those who work in the field are becoming more accustomed to the use of their own cameras, and they supplement their copy of a new inscription not only with a squeeze but with a photograph. It cannot be claimed that these amateur products are always works of art, and there is no doubt that some of the photographs now published in preliminary reports



FIG. 4. THE MORE LEGIBLE PART OF *Hesperia*, VOL. V, NO. 17

will in course of time be replaced as more attention is given to this or that individual piece which seems to call for expert treatment in the matter of its illustration. However, the value of the first picture, for the sake of the record, is considerable. It would be deplorable if one were to hesitate to snap or even to print a photograph because of his fear that it might not measure up to the best professional standards. There are many occasions when photographs have to be made where there are no professionals available, and even professionals do not always produce good photographs.

There is a further complication in that there frequently exists a difference of opinion as to what does or does not constitute a good photograph. Feyel (*R.E.A.*, vol. XL, 1938, p. 333), comments as follows upon the photographs published by Dow in *Hesperia*, Supplement I: "D'un autre côté, les photographies reproduites ont souvent été prises en lumière frisante: on obtient ainsi des images brillantes, agréables au premier coup d'œil; mais l'aspect des lettres est plus ou moins gravement altéré. Que l'on considère, par exemple, le cas du no. 49: il se compose de deux fragments; mais l'un d'eux est au British Museum, et la photographie publiée, qui est parfaite, a été prise à l'ombre; l'autre fragment, trouvé dans la fouille de l'Agora, a été photographié en lumière frisante: on est obligé de s'en rapporter à M. Dow pour croire que l'écriture est la même." Since reading this statement, I have again consulted Dow's volume and I

find that I come to conclusions quite the opposite of those expressed by Feyel. The photograph of the Agora fragment, which he thinks not so good as that of the fragment in the British Museum, shows with remarkable clarity the strokes of the letters preserved on the stone (see Figs. 5 and 6). In this respect, which is the primary purpose of the photograph, it seems to me superior to the one from the British Museum; and the photograph of the Agora inscription has the added advantage of bringing out clearly the texture of the surface of the marble, which is entirely lost in the photograph of the companion piece with which Feyel compares it.

But there is danger in judging from the photographs alone how brilliant may have been the light when they were made. The accidents of survival frequently change the aspect of the marble surface so that, from one stele, some fragments appear very dull and others very bright. As one reads Feyel's comments on the two photographs and then turns to the photograph published by Dow (*op. cit.*, p. 128) of his no. 70, frag. A,²² he will find three contiguous pieces with an even more striking contrast in apparent brilliance of surface; yet the light used in making this photograph was uniform for all three fragments. The fact that some parts appear dull and some bright is due solely to the condition of the marble surface, and not at all to the lighting effects devised by the photographer. Quite recently, when Schweigert had just completed the reconstruction of



FIG. 5. PHOTOGRAPH FROM LONDON



FIG. 6. PHOTOGRAPH FROM ATHENS

a monument of which the two fragments had been traditionally described as Pentelic and Hymettian marble respectively, he thought it worth while to remind his readers that "weather and environment, as every archaeologist knows, work wonders with the surfaces of marble, and fragments which join often possess totally different colors" (*Hesperia*, vol. VIII, 1939, p. 173). The possibility of such change must always be borne in mind. One would like to bring together the fragments of Dow, *op. cit.*, no. 49, before attempting to judge what part this consideration plays in the different appearance of his two photographs, but the doing so would entail a great deal of trouble for very small gain. It may be noted here merely that the lack of clarity in some of the letters in the photograph from the British Museum may be due in part to the relative obscurity of the surface of the stone and not to any lack of skill on the part of the photographer.

There are still other considerations which have to be borne in mind when one studies photographs published as half-tones. Though the photographic prints and even the half-tone reproductions made from them sometimes facilitate readings from a difficult surface (cf. e.g., p. 23), it must be remembered that the photographs are after all not the same as the original, and that a poor exposure or a poor print may cause loss of detail that can be seen on the stone itself. The photo-engraver who makes the half-tone cannot hope to surpass the quality of the prints sub-

mitted to him as copy; in fact, because of the very nature of half-tone engraving, something is bound to be lost between photograph and half-tone. I call attention to this fact here because the two photographs used by Dow as engraver's copy for his no. 49 are now in the files of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton and may be compared with the published half-tones and with each other. The contrast between the shadowy surface of the one and the brilliant surface of the other is not nearly so great in the photographic prints as in the half-tones. In fact, some of the detail in the British Museum fragment has been lost in the mechanical process of reproduction between the stages of photograph and half-tone, and the dull appearance which Feyel has described with approval is actually in part the unfortunate result of relatively poor work in photo-engraving. The Agora fragment fared better in this respect, more nearly resembles the photograph from which it was made, and retains in all essential respects its fresh and clear-cut appearance.²³

Although Feyel cites the Agora photograph as an example to show how the lighting effect has more or less seriously altered the appearance of the letters, the mechanical processes of reproduction have not transformed the shapes at all. Dow is undoubtedly right in assigning both fragments to one document, but we do not have to take his word for it alone; these photographs support his determination with visible and unprejudiced evidence as to the character of the writing.²⁴



FIG. 7. PART OF A PRYTANY DECREE

But with all of its advantages, there are many ways in which photographs are not so satisfactory as squeezes for comparative study. One thinks at once of the difficulty of securing photographs of stones at different times and places all made precisely to the same scale, and there is always the danger that any individual photograph may show distortion if, at the time of exposure, the plane of the inscribed surface of the stone is not parallel to the sensitized surface of the film on which the exposure is recorded. More than this, even with the best of care on the part of the photographer himself, there may be distortion, particularly around the extremities of a large photographic plate, if the equipment with which he works is not of the finest quality.²⁵

On the other hand, the photograph has a great advantage over the squeeze in that it gives at first glance some indication of the three-dimensional aspect of the stone. One can see the nature of the margins, mouldings, and fractures, and so in many cases gain additional information which a squeeze cannot give. But this new evidence must be used with care, for any difference in depth in the picture distorts in size the proportion which the part so photographed bears to the principal surface of the stone. A moulding which projects forward seems, in the photograph, to be larger than it really is, and a fractured edge which recedes towards the back of the stone appears, in a photograph, to have in proportion less of a lateral projection than in fact it does possess.

Several years ago I published a photograph of one of the fragments of *I.G.*, 1², 66,²⁶ with a drawing to show the distance between the letters and the preserved right margin of the fragment, where restorations would have to be made at points where the surface along the margin has now been broken away. The same photograph is now published in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, 1, p. 121, Fig. 176; and the same disposition of the text relative to the margin is there published on pages 164-165. In commenting upon this disposition, Dow (*A.J.A.*, vol. XLII, 1938, p. 602) suggested that the number of letters to be restored along the right margin should be reduced by one because, as he noted, in his measurements across the photograph there was space available for four letters but not for five. I reproduce the photograph here so that the reader may make the test for himself (Fig. 8). Dow's observation of the photograph was entirely correct, but the deduction which he made was wrong because the only part of the margin which appears in the picture lies in a plane farther removed from the lens of the camera than the inscribed surface itself. The relative disposition of text to margin must remain as I have indicated it, and that it is correct has been proved more recently by the discovery on the Akropolis at Athens of a large fragment of this same inscription which belongs to the left side of the stele and which carries the continuation of the text of the fragment here under discussion.²⁷ The additional



FIG. 8. FRAGMENT OF *I.G.*, 1², 66



letters which the necessary restorations demand must all be supplied at the right-hand edge of the stone.

This distortion which inevitably occurs as between objects at a greater or less distance from the camera is one of the reasons why the use of a measuring stick to give the scale of the photograph must be controlled with care. It is not enough merely that a measure be included somewhere in the picture. It must be precisely in the same plane with the inscribed surface to which it gives its scale.

Squeezes likewise have their own problems of distortion. From the very nature of the squeeze, this distortion is confined to the two dimensions only of the plane surface from which the squeeze reproduces a facsimile impression. Squeeze paper must be wet before it is pounded into the letters of an inscription, and when wet it expands. Even if one is able to leave his finished squeeze upon the stone to dry, there may be subsequent shrinkage so that the squeeze is somewhat smaller than its prototype. If the squeeze is removed from the stone while still wet and allowed to dry by itself, such shrinkage is bound to occur, and it may be greater and more irregular.²⁸ As in the case of a photograph, where the squeeze is being used merely for the sake of determining the text of one separate fragment, the possibility of this very slight distortion makes no difference. When one squeeze has to be compared with another, or when several fragments are to be combined, then this

distortion, where it exists, may be a very troublesome matter. This is particularly true if more than one kind of squeeze paper is used in making the various impressions, for squeeze papers have different degrees of shrinkage and some of them contract when they dry much more noticeably than others. It is much to be desired that epigraphists should have at their disposal a standardized type of squeeze paper, and one of the qualifications which it should possess is that its coefficient of shrinkage should be as low as possible.²⁹

Under the ideal conditions provided by a museum or private collection, it is entirely possible that everyone who studies an inscription may have at his disposal both a good squeeze and a good photograph. Such facilities are not always available when one is traveling in the country, making a collection of such monuments as may come to his attention. Anyone who has ever tried to make a squeeze that requires a large sheet of paper out in the open, in the rain, and with a high wind blowing, will know the difficulty of securing good squeezes under such trying conditions. Here there are obvious advantages in the photographic record. It is now possible with a very small camera to take pictures which may subsequently be enlarged, and such equipment should be a part of every field expedition. Similar photographs have been used by the American excavators in the Athenian Agora for all the objects of their permanent catalogue, including the inscriptions, with the result

that the epigraphical index from the Agora excavations now has at least one photograph of every fragment of inscription so far discovered. It is very much to be desired that this type of record may in time be provided for every collection. The ease with which photographic prints and enlargements are made gives to them a certain general availability which a collection of squeezes does not possess, and it may not be too much to hope that one will be able to secure, in the not-too-distant future, a photographic print of any inscription now preserved. At any rate, this is a goal very much worth working toward, and the recent developments in microphotography may well hasten on its realization.¹⁰

We have already commented upon the significant development in the study of Greek inscriptions which has come with individual publications well illustrated by drawings or photographs and with the increased attention that is now being paid to every epigraphical document as a monument of three dimensions rather than merely as a text copied off from its stone and studied without proper relation to its medium. This new development is more than equal compensation for the omission of majuscule texts from the *Editio Minor* of the *Corpus* in every case where such an individual publication is available. The need for the old majuscule texts will have disappeared completely if it should ever become possible for the individual scholar to secure at small expense from some central depository his own photographs of the

inscriptions in which he is interested; and for one who cannot himself work directly with the stones, the possession of a good photograph is the best assurance that his study will not be limited by lack of evidence about the monument as a whole.

II
RECONSTRUCTION

IN THE preceding chapter we have named some of the two-dimensional problems which present themselves in the study of Greek inscriptions, with some comment on methods that may be used in deciphering or reading a text and with some account of the shortcomings which are bound to be involved in any purely two-dimensional study. It seems to us now almost self-evident that every inscription should be studied not only as a text but as an architectural monument, but the tradition has been such that only in rather recent years has there been any general feeling for the necessity of a fuller development of architectural epigraphy. When Ferguson published in 1932 his *Treasurers of Athena* he was able to claim that the new science had more or less come of age, though both he and men who have studied with him have made still further contributions.

As Ferguson himself remarked (*op. cit.*, p. viii) and as Wade-Gery has subsequently agreed (*J.H.S.*, vol. LIII, 1933, p. 134), “‘The science of architectural epigraphy’ has been . . . perfected in the main by American scholars.” It may be claimed, I believe, that in recent years Americans have consistently urged the necessity for this more complete study. Among the first to use architectural methods, and to win from them the full advantages they offered in epigraphical restoration, was W. B. Dinsmoor, him-

self an architect, in his admirable reconstruction of the building accounts from the Athenian Akropolis (*A.J.A.*, vol. xvii, 1913; cf. also vol. xxv, 1921). His publication gave not only restored texts but drawings to show the outlines of the original monuments with the various fragments in their relative positions. The evidence of one side of a stone, like that of the Parthenon accounts, which was inscribed on all four sides, thus helped in the determination of text of the other three sides, and the textual problems with which Dinsmoor dealt were conceived by him always as problems of three dimensions, intimately connected with the monument on which they were inscribed.

Lack of evidence about the stone which carries an inscription necessarily deprives an editor of much knowledge that is indispensable to him for the purposes of restoration. No one, of course, would deliberately suggest restorations with so long a line that some of the letters would have to be assumed farther to the left or right than the actual limit of the stone itself. We have already seen one example of the failure to achieve a correct interpretation of text because of ignorance of such limitations. It is true that in the Tribute-quota List 27 some lines of the obverse were continued around onto the lateral face, but such cutting must be considered highly exceptional. There was also difficulty because of the assumption of letters on parts of the stone which are still preserved uninscribed; it is just as clear that no interpretation can be correct when letters are posited

at a place where there is no stone at all. Yet failure to consider an inscription as an architectural monument has led at times unwittingly to such restoration.

There have come down to us several fragments of a decree passed by the Athenian Council and the People, in 450/49 B.C., which embodied the terms of an agreement between Athens and Miletos.¹ The opening lines of this inscription are restored as follows in *I.G.*, 1², 22:

[Ε ὑ κ] λέσ [. . . * . . . ἐ] γρ [α μ μ ἀ τ ε ν ε]
[έδοχσεν] τει βολει κα[ὶ τοι δέμοι, . . . * . . . ις ἐπρ]υτάν[ευε,
Εύκλεις . . . * . . . ἐγραμμάτε]
[υε, 'Ακέστ]ορ ἐπεστάτε, [Εύθυνος ἔρχε τάδε ιοι χ]συνγγρα-
[φές χσυνέγραφσαν συντελέσαι]
[μὲν τὰ ν]ομιζόμενα το[ὶς θεοῖς, οὐκέσθαι δ]ὲ πέντε ἄν[δρας
τὸν δέμον ἔχες Λθεναλον π]
5 [άντον α]ὐτίκα μάλα [κυπτὲ τριάκοντα ἔτε] γεγονότα[ς
-----]

The inscription is written in a chequerboard stoicheion pattern, and although the left margin, where the opening lines must be restored, has not been preserved (see Fig. 9), it is possible to calculate its approximate position by counting back the number of letters in the first line of the decree proper: [ἔδοχσεν] τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δέμῳ — —]. One may observe further that the large letters in line 1 are regularly spaced and at such intervals that one large letter falls over every third letter in the main body of the text below. If it be assumed that this first line should be restored with the name of a secretary,

50 Eukles, then the initial letter of this name will fall so far to the left that it lies beyond the margin of the stone as determined by the position of the letters below. This purely physical consideration here makes possible a demonstration that the restoration [Εὐκλ]λῆς [.....⁸.....έ]γρ[αμμάτευε] is incorrect. On



FIG. 9. FRAGMENT I OF *I.G.*, 1², 22.

the other hand, there is room for the restoration of two letters at the beginning of line 1, and since the document is concerned with Milesian affairs, it is natural to suggest that the first word in the heading should be some form of *Μιλέσιοι*. Indeed Oliver was able to discover, when he examined the stone, part of the iota following the sigma.

When one turns his attention to the other preserved fragment of the upper part of the decree, he observes again that the large letters of line 1 are set



FIG. 10. FRAGMENT 2 OF *I.G.*, 1², 22

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

out evenly over every third letter-space of the text below. The right margin of this upper fragment (Fig. 10) is not preserved, but its position may be determined with fair accuracy from the evidence that is available. Oliver was able to fix the number of letters in each line of the upper part of the inscription as a normal stoichedon 58.² Inasmuch as the length of line is thus limited, it will be observed that if the restoration [ϵ]γρ[αμμάτευε] is assumed in line 1, the final letters must lie so far to the right as to be beyond the margin of the stone. Here again a merely physical consideration combined with some evidence derived from essential restorations points the way to a necessary correction in the traditional text. In line 3 appears the noun [χ]συγγρα[φῆς], and the terms of the document itself are those which might properly be denoted by the word *χσυγγραφαί*. The large letters in the upper part of this fragment may be restored as part of the word *χσυγγραφαί* without the necessity of assuming that any letter ran beyond the edge of the stone. The complete reading for line 1 now appears not as [Εικ]λῆς [....⁸.... ϵ]γρ[αμμάτευε] but rather as [Μι]λεσι[οις χσυγ]γρ[αφαί]. The reading has been so given by Oliver, and it finds confirmation in the fact that across the entire width of the stone one of the large letters now falls over every third letter-space of the decree.³

There are many instances that may be cited where knowledge of the exact position of a margin has made possible a better restoration of the text of an inscrip-

tion. I note that quite recently L. Robert has proposed a new reconstruction of an inscription found at Pagai, in which he gives for the heading in line 1 the reading [Μεγ]αρ[έων] in place of the suggested [Χ]άρο[τεον] (*I.G.*, VII, 188). As in the case of the Milesian document from Athens, the larger letters which he proposes are so spaced as to fall within the limits imposed by the sides of the stele, which was not the case with earlier restoration.⁴ Nor is it always necessary that the position of margins, even when not preserved, should be determined only through the medium of the inscription itself. One of the Athenian decrees from the third century, now published as *I.G.*, II², 734, is surmounted by a panel of sculpture in low relief. There has been for some years uncertainty as to the relative place of the right margin of this inscription, a matter of some importance because the fixation of this margin controls the amount of space in line 3 available for the name of the archon in whose year the document must be dated. One position suggested for the margin allows a space of twelve letters for this name and, among known names, that of Pheidon has been singled out as the only available one, to give the restoration: [έπι Φειδοντάτον ἀρχοντος].⁵ But if this suggestion were correct, then there would be no room on the stone for the greater part of one of the figures in the sculptured panel. The margin must in fact be placed more to the right in relation to the preserved text, and the amount of space available for the name of the archon

must be correspondingly shortened.⁶ This reconstruction of the stone finds also epigraphical confirmation in the necessity of supplying in line 1 the complete word *πολιτε[ια]*, which would extend too far to the right if the restoration *ἐπὶ Φειδοστράτου ἀρχοντος* were to be retained in line 3.⁷ It is significant for the present development of architectural epigraphy that more attention is being paid to all the available evidence for such determinations, and that improvements in old established texts are constantly being made.

Before leaving the question of margins, I wish to call to mind one inscription which has had a history more than usually unfortunate in this respect. The decree concerning Attic tribute now published as D7 by Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, vol. 1, consisted of two known fragments only, in 1924, when the *Editio Minor* of the *Corpus* was published.⁸ Of these, fragment *a* was recorded as having its left edge preserved.⁹ Fragment *b* was also described, with a question mark, as having a preserved margin at the left.¹⁰ As a matter of fact, part of the right edge of fragment *b* is preserved and it is the right edge, and not the left, which still exists on fragment *a*.¹¹ Not only has there been trouble with the margins, but the surface of *a* is uninscribed below the last line of the text, and it is perfectly obvious that *a* belongs under *b* in the reconstruction of the monument and that it contains the concluding lines of the inscription.¹² In 1926 a new

fragment of this inscription was discovered which belonged to the upper right corner of the original stele. Its left margin was not preserved and there was a curious uninscribed area covering a square section in the upper right corner.¹³ The question of the left margin of the stele depended on whether the edge should be determined by the necessary restoration [*ἔδοχσεν τὰ βολὰν καὶ τὸν* δέ[μοι — —] in the first two preserved lines, or whether, in addition to this, an uninscribed area in the upper left corner should be assumed, symmetrical with that on the right. In his first publication,¹⁴ Meritt assumed a symmetrical uninscribed area because what he conceived to be the minimum length of line extended two letter-spaces to the left of the alternative margin, as this length of line was determined by the restoration: *hoi δὲ πρ[υτάνες μετὰ τὰ Διονύ]σια ἐκκλεσίαν ποιεσάντον* in lines 17–18. The reconstruction of the monument necessitated by the wider margins was reproduced in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, vol. 1, Pl. xxiv. Even while this volume was in press, word was received by the authors, from Athens, of the discovery of a considerable fragment from the upper part of the left side of the stone on which the left edge was preserved. There was also enough of text to show that the restoration in line 18 should not be [*μετὰ τὰ Διονύ]σια* but *μετὰ Διο[νύ]σια* and that the position of the margin was in fact correct as it would have been determined by the restoration: [*ἔδοχσεν τὰ βολὰν καὶ τὸν* δέ[μοι — —] of the opening

lines of the piece discovered in 1926.¹⁵ The physical facts offered by these four fragments are now known, and a reconstruction and interpretation can be undertaken, with the exact positions of the margins fixed and with the length of every line determined.¹⁶



FIG. 11. FRAGMENT 3 OF THE SECOND STONE

Even post-classical margins have their significance. The curious beveled edges of *J.G.*, 1², 324, date from a re-use of the stone after it had ceased to be of interest for the inscription it carried, but they assist materially in fixing the original edges which are no longer preserved, and incidentally they have made possible the assignment to the inscription of two small fragments that have no letters upon them at all.¹⁷ Another medieval drafting along the margin of a small fragment of the tribute-quota lists (Fig. 11)

has made possible its assignment to one definite year, thereby determining the character of the record and the date of one of the assessments of tribute in the Athenian empire.¹⁸

But the business of architectural epigraphy is concerned with more than margins. It cannot neglect the inscribed text itself, but it must consider this, even when a stone is inscribed on one face only, in the light of all noticeable characteristics of the stele, including the sides, the top, the bottom, and even the back. As Dow remarks (*A.J.A.*, vol. XL, 1936, pp. 57-58), "Hitherto, the dating of an inscription has depended generally on what could be read of the text. This approach is and must remain in nearly every instance primary. That such an approach falls short, sometimes far short, of a complete understanding of inscribed stones is quite obvious, if one bears in mind that all such stones have dimensions, decorations, and the like, and that the letters have distinctive forms. In the main these non-literary details have been very little exploited for their chronological and other values." In the category of these items of evidence which Dow names as non-literary details come such obvious adornments as mouldings, pediments, sculptural decoration, incised crowns or wreaths, the style of surface treatment of the marble, and the use or non-use of guide lines. It was, for example, the observation of a vertical guide line that first suggested, along with the character of the script, the removal of fragment 47 of the first



FIG. 12. FRAGMENTS 35 AND 36 OF THE ASSESSMENT DECREE



stele of the tribute-quota lists from List 2 to List 5. The desirability of the change was made clear when the fragment was found to make a perfect join with other fragments in its new position.¹⁹

One may add to Dow's comments that quite in addition to all the external characteristics of the marble or the evidences of cutting, surface treatment, and embellishment expended upon it by ancient craftsmen, there sometimes exist, within the marble itself, characteristic faults or flaws which become important for the epigraphist only after the stone has been broken and the problem has arisen of replacing in proper relation the shattered fragments. We seldom know how the original integral stelai were destroyed, but the preserved pieces show that lines of breakage frequently followed definite lines or faults within the body of the stone. When two fragments that belong together are found actually to join so that the break between them is closed and the wound, as it were, healed, then there is no question about the definition of their relative positions. The value of a continuous line of fracture is that fragments which belong together can sometimes be assigned to their correct relative positions even though they no longer make direct contact with one another.

The observation of this fact has been of tremendous help in making possible a reconstruction, for example, of some parts of the assessment decree of 425. It was an observation of fracture which made it possible to

say approximately how much space might be allotted to the panel of Aktaian cities, now appearing after the subjugation of Mytilene for the first time in an assessment decree, and at the same time to identify certain large items of tribute, long known but poorly understood, as belonging to the cities of Thrace. These figures, the first of which amounts to at least seventy talents (¶ΔΔ--), appear in the lower right-hand corner of what used to be called fragment *w* of *I.G.*, 1, 37, now known as fragment 36 (Fig. 12) ²⁰ in the consecutive numbering of the fragments of this inscription. The stone is broken at the right and no traces of the names which belong with these figures have been preserved; according to the uniform practice observable throughout the list, they must have been inscribed with their first letters in the sixth letter-space to the right of the column defined by the numerals. On another fragment, designated in *I.G.*, 1, 37, as fragment *z''*, there are parts of the names of Thracian cities.²¹ The nature of the fracture on both stones enables one to bring together the two fragments here cited. If the fragments are juxtaposed — they cannot be said to join — with the necessary five letter-spaces left for the column of numerals, the sweeping arc of fracture will be seen to be continuous.²² This appears very clearly in the photograph (Fig. 13). In fact, not merely is the fracture continuous, but the lateral surface defined by the fracture slopes back in the same way on both fragments. When the stone was broken, fragments 36



FIG. 13. FRAGMENTS 36 AND 37 OF THE ASSESSMENT DECREE

and 37 must have remained for a time as part of one single piece. How much later it was itself broken we do not know, but fortunately the side which received the original sweeping fracture suffered no further damage, and by means of it one is able to bring the two fragments together again.

The observation of a further small physical detail on fragment 36 helps to make possible the suggestion of a name for the Thracian city which was assessed the enormous sum of seventy talents in this year. Inasmuch as the panel of Aktaian cities was here followed by the panel of Thracian cities, just as it was in the assessment of 421 B.C.,²³ it is possible to draw some comparisons between the two lists. The normal procedure was to inscribe at the beginning of each panel the names of the more important cities, and yet there appeared in the very early lines of the list for 421 a name which must be restored as [Δ ikata π ap' "Abde ρ]a, one of the least wealthy of the Thracian tributaries.²⁴ The best explanation for the appearance of so small a town at the very beginning of a district panel is that it was united in its assessment with a powerful neighbor, wealthy enough to have a position near the top of the panel by its own right. In this particular case, of course, the wealthy neighbor was Abdera, and this name has been restored in A10, col. iv, line 29.

No trace of either one of these names has been preserved on fragment 36 of the assessment list of 425, but the position of the very first numeral

(¶ΔΔΔ --), separated from the figures below it by a space half a line greater than the normal interlineation, shows that the numeral itself belonged with an entry in the column of names which occupied two lines. On the analogy of A10, the beginning of the Thracian panel in A9 may be restored with fair certainty as:

[Θράκιος φόρος]
¶ΔΔΔ[¶] [ἱαβδερίται]
 [Δίκαια παρά "Αβδερα"]

The only item for which evidence is here lacking is the supplement for the numeral. Inasmuch as fragment 36 joins fragment 35, an approximate minimum of space is determined for the cities of Akte and a restoration is made possible for the initial letters which appear on the right edge of fragment 35.

These observations were made during the course of actual study with the stones in Athens, but the evidence of fracture might equally well have been suggested by study of photographs taken to scale from the individual fragments. Any deductions so made would have required subsequent verification from the original in the museum. The danger of relying solely upon a photograph or squeeze is illustrated by the very tempting suggestion brought to mind by two photographs of fragments from the Euxine panel of this same inscription (Fig. 14).²⁵ One observes here a sloping line of fracture running from lower left to upper right across the bottom of fragment 39 and across the top of fragment 40. It

seems, in fact, as though it might be possible to combine the two pieces in such a way that the initial tau of the last line of fragment 39 might fall on the same line with the initial tau of fragment 40, the two



FIG. 14. FRAGMENTS 39 AND 40 OF THE ASSESSMENT DECREE

letters being considered together as the symbol for two talents. At the same time, when the photographs are so placed, the left margin of the two fragments forms a more or less continuous curve which seems to offer confirmation. However, when trial of this position was actually made in Athens, it was dis-

covered that the two fragments cannot be so juxtaposed and that there is in fact no point of contact or join between them. The failure of the photographic method in this instance does not by any means imply that inscriptions should not be so studied. It merely means that conclusions so reached must have also the benefit of control from an observation of the fragments themselves.

The importance of a fracture and the necessity for a careful observation of it are also illustrated by the example of two other pieces from the upper part of this same stele. This case has already something of a history and may indeed have more of one before the correct settlement is universally accepted. The fragments concerned are numbers 2 and 7 of *I.G.*, 1², 63, now published as A9 by Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, 1, p. 154. The position given to fragment 2 in the reconstruction of the text of this inscription by Hiller in *I.G.*, 1², 63, was for some years accepted by Meritt and West, and during the early stages of their work with this document was used in their attempts to find satisfactory restorations for the opening lines of the inscription. Upon this preliminary work is based the text as printed by Tod in *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 66. Most of the fragments that belonged to this monument had been built into a bed of plaster years ago by Lolling, and it was not until the winter of 1932-1933 that the opportunity was given for dismembering the stele as Lolling had constructed it

and for making a new study of the various fragments and their relations to one another. As a result of this study several new joins were found, the exact width of the stone was determined, and it was possible, in short, to make a new reconstruction of the monument, which one may claim, I believe, to be more nearly correct than its predecessor. This reconstruction and a restoration of the text were published by Meritt and West in *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.* So far as fragment 2 was concerned, they felt obliged to move it one letter-space to the right from the position to which Hiller had assigned it. This change was made necessary by the observation that the line of fracture along its right lateral face was continuous with the line of fracture along the right lateral face of fragment 7 below it. A photograph showing the two fragments in their proper relative positions and showing also the continuity of the fractured surfaces was published in *The Athenian Assessment* (Fig. 15, p. 32). It was therefore with some surprise that I read the suggestion of Nesselhauf²⁶ that fragment 2 should be returned to its earlier position, and that I have followed subsequently Kolbe's continued insistence that Nesselhauf's suggestion must be correct.²⁷ If one has followed the statements that have been made about fragments 2 and 7 he will have observed also that a further control over the initial lines of this decree has been offered on the basis of the relative positions of fragments 3 and 8. It was observed by West, as

long ago as 1926, when the fragments were still embedded in the stele of plaster constructed by Lolling, that the stones were so preserved behind the surface that fragments 3 and 8 would have to be separated by an interval greater than that repre-



FIG. 15. FRAGMENTS 2 AND 7 OF THE ASSESSMENT DECREE

sented in *I.G.*, 1², 63. In fact, fragment 3 was given a position in the text as published in *The Athenian Assessment* as far to the left as was considered physically possible in the light of West's determinations. Kolbe has wished to move not only fragment 2 one letter-space to the left but fragment 3 as well, and I have objected that this would cause a physical conflict between fragments 3 and 8.²⁸ In 1938 Kolbe

himself examined these stones in Athens. He very generously reported to me that the observation made years ago by West was not correct and that, in fact, fragment 3 could be moved to the left as he desired. His observations were confirmed at the time by Broneer, who examined the stones with him. In view of the difficult circumstances under which West did this work in 1926 and in view of Broneer's present confirmation, I believe that Kolbe's determination of the lateral range within which fragment 3 may be placed is quite correct, and I take this opportunity of saying that I accept his observations here without question. At the same time, I think the fact should be emphasized that this really has nothing to do with the relative positions of fragments 2 and 7, and I think it just to remark that fragment 3 may still be considered in its correct position as West and I have assigned it. There is no good reason for one to place the fragment where it does not belong merely because he is not prevented physically from doing so, and one should be grateful to Kolbe that he has prevented the use of a false argument in support of a good case.

The crux of the matter in these opening lines really lies in the position which must be assigned to fragment 2, and this is determined by the line of its lateral fracture. My observations of this were made with great care, and my confidence that they were correct is not diminished by Kolbe's continued insistence, even after he has seen the stone, that fragment 2 should be returned to its old position. Broneer has

written me the following report from Athens, under date of November 26, 1938, which he has given me permission to quote in full:

"This morning I went to the Epigraphical Museum and made a minute examination of the fragments again and the results are as follows: The fragments are still left in their position as placed by you, but the plaster has been removed between 2 and 3 as far down as 8 and 7 With regard to fragment 2 my observations corroborate your placing of the pieces. The fracture along the right edge of 2 follows a clearly marked fault in the marble, which is equally well marked along the right edge of 7 and is the reason for the fracture between 7 and 8. By moving fragment 2 one space to the left this line of fracture would be broken."

Fragments 2 and 7 were later removed from the reconstructed stele and laid out for study in the museum. A photograph made by Broneer with the fragments in proper position (here published as Fig. 15) shows the continuous line of fracture along the right.

Subsequently Dinsmoor also examined both stones during a visit to Athens in the summer of 1939; his report under date of July 19 reads as follows: "There can be no doubt that the situation regarding these two fragments is exactly as you state it on page 31 [of *The Athenian Assessment*]. The fracture at the right edge of 2 recedes at about the same angle of 45 degrees to the face, and with the same characteristics

of surface that appear at the right edge of 7; for instance, there is a slight bump about 0.03 m. behind the face (measured perpendicularly to the face) coming down the right edge of 2 and reappearing in 7; also behind this a concave surface comes down 2 and reappears in 7. There can be no doubt that the two fractured surfaces are one and the same. But they can be one and the same only when the column with sigma sigma in 2 is placed over the column with omicron gamma in 7. If 2 is pushed one letter column farther to the left, these two fractures become exactly parallel, with all their peculiarities reproduced about 0.017 m. apart (measured at 45 degrees, normal to fracture), which seems contrary to the laws of physics or of chance."

Dow, who was present when the first test of this fracture was made in Athens, confirms by letter my position for the fragments, and Schweigert, who has since seen the stones and studied them himself, adds his confirmation.

It seems strange that any difference of opinion can exist over so simple a matter as whether or not a line of break is continuous, and I believe that every student who wishes to follow out this problem for himself must bear in mind a general warning which Wade-Gery, himself a distinguished epigraphist and historian, has published in a recent epigraphical review:²⁹ "The scientist-plus-interpreter runs two dangers, that he *sees* his facts wrong, that he *interprets* them wrong. He can but arm himself against

the first by scientific candour, against the second by imagination and a sense of the actual; for to decline such inquiry is to shut his eyes on life."

The evidence of position that may be derived from lines of fault or fracture in a stone is not always so definite as that offered by the fracture along the lateral surfaces of fragments 2 and 7 of the assessment decree, but it may none the less be useful in determining at least a tentative scheme of reconstruction. A line of cleavage which follows a distinct fault in the monument that once carried the accounts for the statue of Athena Promachos and which appears now on the upper surface of fragments *b* and *x* and on the under surface of fragment *d* of *I.G.*, 1², 338, has given a slight clue to the arrangement of fragments that may now be assigned to this inscription.³⁰ Even where the fracture does not follow a natural line of cleavage in the marble but only a random line of break which was created at the time when the several fragments of the original monument were separated, it is still possible that it may have some value in a present reconstruction. Fragments 2 and 3 of *I.G.*, 1², 220, have been tentatively placed on the evidence of such a break across their under surface in the disposition of the text as now given by Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, 1, p. 152.³¹ The strength of such evidence varies greatly with individual cases, sometimes being merely suggestive, as in the instance here cited, and sometimes conclusive, as I think one may claim for the example

illustrated by fragments 36 and 37 of the assessment decree of 425 B.C.³² But an apparent line of fracture may lead astray even the most careful observer. For example, the inscription now published as *I.G.*, 1², 330, consists of two fragments, *a* and *b*. Fragment *a* was placed above fragment *b* by Wilhelm because he found, with this disposition, what seemed to him to be a line of breakage that ran more or less continuously along the left side of both stones. The fragments did not make a join with each other in this position, but the arrangement suggested by Wilhelm was taken over in the publication by Hiller in the *Corpus*. As a matter of fact, the position of the fragments as determined by this supposed line of fracture is quite erroneous. I discovered, when working with the stones themselves in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, that when *a* was placed beneath *b* the two fragments joined each other with a very considerable contact surface in common. This observation was published in *Hesperia*, vol. III, 1934, pp. 48-49. As valid evidence, of course, the discovery of the join takes precedence over any supposed lines of breakage. The stones were again examined by Dow and the existence of the join as I had determined it was confirmed by him.³³ There can be no doubt that fragment *a* of this inscription belongs under fragment *b*; their precise positions are determined by the join between them.

Some fractures that are without importance for the architectural reconstruction of a monument may,

nevertheless, have some interest for the observations they make possible on how the monument was destroyed. It may be claimed for *J.G.*, 1², 324, the inscription which carries the audited accounts of borrowings by the state from Athena and the Other Gods from 426 to 422 and the summaries of the audit from 433 to 426, that every inscribed fragment now known is fixed definitely in its proper relative position.³⁴ The disposition of a fragment in this inscription depends upon the restoration and interpretation of its text and upon the internal evidence offered by it, but is so well established that even if new restorations should be proposed, the skeleton arrangement of the known pieces must remain as now published. The general disposition of the central part of the monument without restorations is illustrated here in Fig. 16. One will observe that the smaller fragments are grouped principally in the center of the stele, where the blow or blows which effected its destruction must have been delivered. The lines of fracture along the sides of these fragments radiate, as it were, from a theoretical center of impact above fragment *f* and to the right of fragment *o*. These converging lines give in a general way some physical confirmation for the disposition of the fragments as published, and they also enable one to prophesy, with some assurance, that no considerable fragment of the inscribed surface will have survived to be discovered in future from the point where the blow was struck.

There are many problems which arise in the study



Fig. 16. THE POSITION OF FRAGMENTS NEAR THE CENTER OF *I.G.*, 1³, 324

of fractures, but the subject should not be here dismissed without some comment on a curious phenomenon which West and I observed some years ago in the study of the Athenian tribute-quota lists. Many of the smaller fragments published by earlier editors were found to belong with the larger pieces that have been preserved and, in the physical reconstruction of the monuments, to join them or to lie close up to them. Thus it has been possible to assign with confidence some of the epigraphical waifs of the first two tribute stelai to positions adjacent to larger known fragments.

The history of the destruction of these monuments undoubtedly extends over many centuries and has probably been fairly continuous since their first overthrow. It must be recorded with regret that many of the fragments have suffered damage even during the last hundred years. One can gauge from published records the amount of deterioration during this last period since archaeologists have had the stones at their disposal. Many small fragments, chipped or broken away from the larger pieces, have been again recovered and can now be placed, of course, in proper relation to their mother stones. But by no means all of these relatively modern losses have been repaired. One may suggest that in the preceding centuries the larger fragments from the stelai as they were first broken had the best chance of survival, and that as they, in turn, suffered further breakage, the small fragments split off from them

naturally had a better chance for discovery than possible small fragments broken from pieces earlier lost. Whether or not this is the explanation for the fact that so many small pieces belong with the larger fragments and do not have by themselves completely isolated positions, the phenomenon is remarkable and may well be borne in mind by one who has the problem of placing small fragments in the reconstruction of a monument where large pieces are preserved.

Almost of equal significance with a line of cleavage in the marble which has developed into an actual fracture is the occasional imperfection or change of color which may, on occasion, be traced from one piece of an original stone across an intervening lacuna to reappear upon another fragment of the same stele. Except for the actual edges of break where the two stones approach each other most closely, there is no opportunity to observe the general course and disposition of such imperfections at greater than mere surface depth, so that the evidence they offer is not apt to be so convincing as the evidence of fracture along a line of cleavage which can be observed not merely along the edge of the inscribed surface but across the entire depth of the stone where it has been broken. In the tribute-quota list of 430/29 B.C., now published as List 25,¹⁵ the relative position of fragments 4 and 5, in the reconstructed inscription, could probably be determined in a general way through considerations of symmetry,

as they involve the lengths of the three columns of names in this inscription and the restored probable length of the individual district panels. However, when West and Meritt were preparing their publication which appeared in the *Αρχαιολογική Έφημερις* for 1925/1926 (pp. 46-66), they observed that a vein of quartzlike crystalline nature, accompanied by streaks of greenish discoloration, extended itself down across the names of the Thracian panel in column II of fragment I and reappeared in the upper part of the Island panel in fragment 4. The bearing of this streak was slightly toward the left as it approached the bottom of fragment I. If the same deflection from the vertical was continued across the intervening lacuna, the extent of the lacuna could be approximately determined. Although the character of this evidence is tenuous, the general disposition of the fragments which it indicated has been followed in the reconstruction of this document. One cannot yet be certain about the relation between the upper and lower halves of this inscription, but it may be claimed that the disposition suggested by the flaw in the marble here described is not incompatible with what might be expected of the list, let us say, by comparison with its companion piece of the following year.³⁶

Attention has already been called (see Chapter I, p. 14) to the fact that when stones are inscribed upon more than one face a definite determination of the text in face A is a vital factor in the determination of the text in face B. Examples were cited to show

how failure to make use of this supplementary knowledge which might be carried over from one face of the stone to the other constituted one of the shortcomings of what might be called two-dimensional epigraphy. Where monuments were inscribed on all four sides, the text of the reverse face must also be taken into account. An outstanding example of the necessity for this simultaneous reconstruction is found in the building accounts from the Akropolis, for which Dinsmoor's studies have already been cited. Even more elaborate, because of the multiplicity of fragments, are the great stelai of the Athenian tribute-quota lists. After long study it has been possible to place all of the significant fragments of the so-called first and second stelai in their proper relations to one another, and so to determine the exact extent of every list of tribute-paying cities from 454/3 B.C. to 432/1 B.C., largely through the application of the principles and methods of architectural epigraphy. The improvement in these texts, which are of fundamental importance for the history of the Athenian Empire, over the old texts which one was able to establish when the four inscribed surfaces of the stele were considered as four separate problems, can best be seen by comparing the publication in *I.G.*, 1² (1924) with the publication in *The Athenian Tribute Lists* (1939).³⁷

Sometimes the reverse surface of an inscription, even when not inscribed, may have significant characteristics which determine the relative position of

fragments. Considerations of this sort, for example, have helped to fix the text of the treaty between Athens and Macedonia which is now published as *I.G.*, 1², 71. This was made the subject of a study by Philip Davis, who published his results in the *American Journal of Archaeology* in 1926. Davis found on the reverse face a rough circular depression, parts of which appeared on two different fragments and enabled him to give to the fragments thus marked fixed positions with relation to each other that determined the reconstruction of the text upon the obverse face. There is probably still more that can be done with this document in the way of restoration and interpretation, and a new and comprehensive study of it is very much to be desired.³⁸

III

LETTERING

THE lettering of an inscription has been from the time of the earliest studies always an approximate guide to the date. In the first *Corpus*, published in 1588 by Martinus Smetius,¹ the editor made as accurate copies as possible because, as he observed, "from the very form of the letters, the time or age when each document was written could be approximately determined."² Especially in Athens, where there exists an unusually large and comprehensive collection, this criterion of date may be effectively applied. One writer has suggested recently that an Attic inscription can be dated within about fifty years on the basis of letter forms.³ If one is to hazard a figure, such an estimate is probably as good as any, but every generalization about dating by letter forms is subject to the restriction of all kinds of special considerations. There are some epochs (like the mid fifth century) and some styles (like the "disjointed" style⁴ of the late third century) which permit more accurate dating than do other recognizable epochs and styles, but differences in the monuments themselves or in the purposes for which they were erected and differences of habit and predilection between individual stonemasons prevent the setting up of any very hard and fast rules.

Nevertheless, the lettering of Attic inscriptions does show a more or less continuous development

throughout the Hellenic and Hellenistic periods, and from the fifth century at least down to the beginning of the Empire there was a certain regularity in the progress and change of letter forms. Under the Empire, writing was more eclectic, and its evidence for date, though useful, is less often of equal value.⁵

For the most part students have had to depend for their knowledge of letter forms on the judgment of editors who have seen the stones, but with the increased use in epigraphical publication of drawings and, more particularly, of photographs it is becoming possible for them to make comparative studies of their own. In spite of the service rendered by the conventional majuscule texts when no more satisfactory reproductions were available, it was impossible even with many fonts of type to give more than a rough approximation of the real shapes of the letters. Now the photograph is replacing, and should replace, the special type faces used in editorial work. Instead of referring to certain stereotyped and necessarily conventionalized type-forms, the editor may now use a photograph of the stone or of a squeeze to indicate exactly what the letters of an inscription are like, with the added advantage that he can give not merely a sample but a full picture of the monument which shows disposition as well as form. Such illustrations outmode the majuscule texts, and more than make up for the absence of majuscule in the later editions of the *Corpus* wherever reference can be given to photographic publication.

For the democratic centers and for Athens in particular there is also a certain amount of historical probability for the general periods of time within which the important decrees and records of state transactions may be dated. In all lands there exist sepulchral inscriptions and inscriptions of dedication. These are indeed the types of epigraphical monument on stone with which we are most familiar in the modern age, with abundant examples on public buildings and monuments and in cemeteries throughout every land. Though these classes formed in antiquity large and interesting groups, their historical importance was apt to be less than that of the documents of state. At Athens in particular there is a tremendous commentary on stone of official acts and transactions and of the records of responsible boards which were organized within the state.

The principal reason for the abundance of such documents was the democratic form of government of the Athenian people. The business of government was everybody's business, and the publication of the many details of all sorts of transactions shows a general desire to let everybody know the acts of government. For example, the annual scrutiny which the financial boards had to pass was publicly certified by an inscription on stone — not merely by a record left in the tholos or the prytaneion or the metroon. Aristotle (*'Αθ. Πολ.*, 44, 1) relates that the *ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων* kept the keys to the sacred enclosures in which were stored the moneys and documents of the

state, but the ordinary Athenian citizen did not have to call upon the epistates and through him get access to the records, for the most important were published on stone and set up in the Agora or on the Akropolis.

The significant phrase: *σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ* occurs in decrees of the fifth century,⁶ and in the later inscriptions, particularly in the honorary decrees, the same thought is formulated in the conventional *ἴνα πάντες εἰδῶσιν δότι ἐπιστρατεῖον δῆμος χάριτας ἀξιας ἀποδοῦνται τοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις* ——. Such expressions imply a sense of public responsibility which must also have been felt in the publication of many documents where these express reasons were not formally stated. The democratic government differed in this respect from the oligarchic or the tyrannical. For the fifth century the great numbers of Athenian inscriptions preserved are testimony to the definition of the duties of citizenship which appears in the funeral oration of Perikles (Thuc. II, 40): "We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character."⁷ In fact, the constant access which everyone in Athens had to the published record on stone of public stewardship must have contributed largely to that "fear," even though it was a reverent fear, which Perikles also says was one sanction of their good government (Thuc. II, 37, 3): *τὰ δημόσια διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν*. The student of Athenian history and of Athenian institutions may be very glad that

this was so. One knows more about Athens than about other states partly because of the more abundant literary tradition, but partly also (and this is particularly true of details) because of the democratic habit of inscribing things on stone.

In the age of Peisistratos the citizens of Athens were not encouraged to take an interest in public affairs. Aristotle (*Αθ. Πολ.*, 16, 3) says that Peisistratos so arranged things that the Athenians should have neither desire nor time to give to common problems: *μήτ' ἐπιθυμῶσι μήτε σχολάζωσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κοινῶν*. The result for the epigraphist is a complete dearth of public documents from the time of the tyranny. There are many dedications, but no financial records, no decrees. One may notice that the publication of such documents of state grew in volume with the growth of the democratic spirit. There are some records from the years following the reforms of Kleisthenes, notably *I.G.*, 1², 1. Aristotle reports the confidence that led to the ostracism of Hipparchos of Kollytos in 488 B.C. (*Αθ. Πολ.*, 22, 3): *θαρροῦντος ἦδη τοῦ δῆμου*. In 487 the nine archons were chosen by lot with proportionate tribal representation from a previously selected list — and the slow growth of democratic forms through all this period down to 480 is compared by Aristotle to the slow growth of the city (*Αθ. Πολ.*, 23, 1): *τότε μὲν οὖν μέχρι τούτου προῆλθεν ἡ πόλις ἀμα τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐξανομένη*. Epigraphically, to this period belong part of a law, *I.G.*, 1², 2; the famous Hek-

tompedon inscriptions, *I.G.*, 1², 3 and 4; regulations about religious rites at Eleusis, *I.G.*, 1², 5; and possibly a law about the Mysteries, *I.G.*, 1², 6; but it is fair to say that down to about 455 or 454/3, when the quota lists of the Athenian tribute begin, there is a considerable scarcity of public documents immediately after the Persian Wars. This dearth may be associated with the temporary eclipse of the Demos and the ascendancy of the Areopagos after 480 (Αθ. Πολ., 23, 1): *μετὰ δὲ τὰ Μηδικὰ πάλιν ἵσχυσεν ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴ καὶ διώκει τὴν πόλιν*. This ascendancy lasted for seventeen years (Αθ. Πολ., 25, 1) and then gave way before Ephialtes in the archonship of Konon in 462/1 with further democratic innovations in 457 in the admittance of the third class of citizens, the Zeugitai, to the archonship.

At any rate, after 454 Athenian democracy was in full bloom and public documents of all categories are numerous. On the other hand, it has been learned in recent studies that important inscriptions formerly dated in the 60's and 70's really belong about 450. Such are, for example, the decree concerning Erythrai, *I.G.*, 1², 10;⁸ two decrees concerning Kolophon, *I.G.*, 1², 14/15,⁹ and the commercial treaty with Phaselis, *I.G.*, 1², 16.¹⁰ The treaties with Segesta, *I.G.*, 1², 19 and 20, remain in 453 B.C., and a new fragment now definitely dates the covenant with Miletos, *I.G.*, 1², 22, in 450/49.¹¹

It would be dangerous to argue too closely from the chance way in which inscriptions have been pre-

served in Athens about the rise and fall of democratic feeling. The documents are too few. But knowing something about the growth of the democracy one can understand how the relative number of inscriptions preserved varies over certain periods. This is true during the great years of the fifth century. It is also true during the democratic revival after the restoration of 410, and perhaps the most significant contrast of all is manifest in the almost complete lack of records from the regime of Demetrios of Phaleron, 317-307 B.C., and the abundance of documents from the years immediately following the restoration by Demetrios Poliorcetes. Democracy left behind a record and achieved an immortality that has been denied to the interludes of tyranny and oligarchy.

The mediocre quality of work exhibited by many of the documents shortly after 307 may be attributed to lack of skill on the part of the stonemason (see Fig. 17). The craft of stonemasonry suffered a severe blow with the imposition of the sumptuary laws of Demetrios of Phaleron, which forbade the erection of elaborate carved funeral monuments.¹² There can be no doubt that many skilled craftsmen must have forsaken Athens in the years between 317 and 307 to seek work elsewhere in more profitable fields, leaving in the city the less talented on whom fell the burden of inscribing the decrees of the restored democracy. In 307/6 there were few men available, and even these had had little practice in lettering during the previous decade. Among the stonemasons there was

a high percentage of foreigners, and from the Hellenistic period we know the names of two who cut inscriptions, —, son of Charmides, and Menodotos, son of Artemidoros, both of Tyre.¹³

These observations have only a very general bearing upon the dating of a newly discovered inscription, but if its period of time can be otherwise determined within certain limits they may offer guidance to the range of probability within the bounds so defined.

Important as letter forms are for purposes of approximate dating, scholars have long been without any comprehensive guide to the chronological development of epigraphic characters. For Athens this lack has been in some measure remedied by the publication of Kirchner's *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum* (Berlin, 1935), an album of photographic reproductions which show inscriptions ranging in date from the eighth century B.C. to the fourth century after Christ. There are 151 such photographs, selected wherever possible from documents of known date. The collection is representative, and cannot of course in so small a compass display every type or every variation; yet its usefulness increases as it is supplemented by squeezes and other photographs that may be at the disposition of the user. It is to be hoped that the uncertainty about the date of some of the inscriptions included will be in time dispelled, for the guiding value of such a volume depends primarily on the confidence that the student may place on the fixed points in its chronological scheme.¹⁴



FIG. 17. PART OF *J.G.*, II², 378 (294/3 B.C.)



Even at its best, dating by letter forms alone can never be very precise, for one stonemason may have carried his own individual style without significant variations over a period of many years in active service. Some years ago there was considerable attention being given to the date of *I.G.*, 1², 301. Happily there is now almost general agreement that the correct date is 409/8 B.C., and that the records contained in the inscription are the receipts and expenditures of the Treasurers of Athena in that year. It was the opinion of Wade-Gery in his earlier studies that this document might be assigned to one of the very early years of the Peloponnesian War.¹⁵ Indeed the shapes of the letters, particularly the nu with its high right vertical stroke, would be appropriate to such an early date,¹⁶ but the letters have also very close parallels in similar documents which may be dated definitely in the years 414/3 and 411 (*I.G.*, 1², 297 and 298).¹⁷ Ferguson was able to show from the internal evidence of the document that it should be assigned to the year 409/8, and this date Wade-Gery now also accepts.¹⁸

In his notes on the epigraphical evidence Ferguson made the following comment:¹⁹ "There is one epigraphic factor which I have not tried to evaluate in this study — the style of writing. I distrust my competence in so delicate a matter; but, apart from this, I am indisposed to attach decisive importance to the criterion of writing, for the good and sufficient reason that the outside dates for *IG*² 1 301 fall within

the active lifetime of a single stone cutter, who (no startling change of general fashion having occurred in the meantime) can have used the same style in inscribing *stelae* in 430 and 408 B.C." A similar skepticism should be evidenced by everyone who wishes to use the forms of letters as a criterion for date.

The year 411/10 has been urged by De Sanctis as the correct date for the inscription here under discussion.²⁰ This is so close in point of time to the year 409/8 mentioned by Ferguson that it would be idle to try to use purely epigraphical evidence in deciding one way or the other. Ferguson's date was later supported in an article published in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*.²¹ For the sake of the record it may be well to point out that if Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor are right in interpreting the 300 drachmai of gold of *I.G.*, 1², 301, lines 114-120 (a sum which was valued in silver at 3000 drachmai), as the quota from the Thasian tribute then *I.G.*, 1², 301 itself cannot be dated in 411/10 because we know that no tribute was collected in that year.²²

Within periods where there is a distinctive type of lettering there may be many stonecutters whose writing will be more or less the same and reflect the characteristic peculiarities of the time. It must be expected of course that within a group of similar documents those cut by the same man will be more alike than those cut merely by contemporaries, and close observation has shown that it is at times quite possible to identify a hand. In spite of the caution

which must be observed in bringing together the inscriptions which were cut by one man, it is none the less entirely legitimate to use the identity of writing for the determination of approximate dates. If the identification is sure, one does not rely upon general characteristics which may be shared by many stonecutters and which allow a wider range of date. One knows that his chosen group of inscriptions comes within a single lifetime, even within a single span of one man's active work. Furthermore, inasmuch as even one man may well find his style susceptible to changing desires and tastes, one must reckon with the fact that documents which we cannot now identify as coming from the same stonecutter may in fact have been cut by one man at different times in his career. In the absence of any sufficient number of documents for which the stonecutter is known, it is at present impossible to trace one individual's change of style. For all practical purposes the epigraphist must reckon differences of this kind just as he reckons the differences between various individuals. On the contrary, when an identity of hands can be established it is all the more probable that the inscriptions involved come within a relatively short span of time during which the engraver did not change his style and during which he used the same or similar tools.

One of the best-established of all critical dates in Attic epigraphy is the year 403/2 B.C., when Archinos persuaded the Athenians to use Ionic script in their official documents.²³ There were doubtless stone-

cutters who practiced their art both before and after this date and who cut inscriptions in the old Attic alphabet and subsequently in Ionic letters. It might be possible to determine an identity of hand through the study of those forms common to both alphabets, but I know of no identification that has been so made. Several years ago Ferguson traced the gradual infiltration of Ionic forms into Athenian public documents, showing how the new style had become quite generally accepted even before the final blow was given to the old by the decree of Archinos.²⁴ It may be noted here that this change from Attic to Ionic lettering in the year 403/2 B.C. has played an important part in the arguments about the date of a very significant document discovered at Eleusis and first published by Kourouniotis in 'Ελληνικά, II, 5 ff. The example is worthy of attention because it is one of those fortunate cases in which an identification of hand may be used as supporting evidence for the date.

Four inscriptions, one from Eleusis and three from Athens, have been identified by Wade-Gery as the work of one man because of the distinctive character of their lettering.²⁵ In all these inscriptions the letters were very elegantly cut with chisels of three different widths, the long strokes measuring 0.011 m., the medium strokes 0.009 m., and the short strokes 0.007 m. Wade-Gery gives a table (*op. cit.*, p. 122) to show the measurements of strokes in the various letters. I have only one correction to offer: the letter

chi was made with two strokes each of 0.011 m. instead of 0.009 m.; but this does not change in any way the validity of his identifications. Although no one of these documents can be dated exactly, Wade-Gery has made an excellent case for assigning *I.G.*, 1², 77 to the early thirties of the fifth century. It is even possible that the decree was proposed by Pericles himself. There is no way to determine at all closely the date of *I.G.*, 1², 160, but on the basis of internal evidence *I.G.*, 1², 61 + 169 + 179 may be dated earlier than 411 because the kolakretai are mentioned in *I.G.*, 1², 169. The word is there restored, but the restoration is certain.²⁶

With one inscription certainly earlier than 411 and with another quite probably earlier than the outbreak of the Archidamian War, it seems legitimate to bring the entire group back so that all the documents may be dated somewhere in the thirties. There is no certainty about any precise year, and I give the suggestion because it was first made by Wade-Gery and there seems no good reason for introducing any variation in his dates. The Eleusinian member of the group has been dated by some just after the outbreak of the war, and by others after the conclusion of the war thirty years later. If it is to be assigned to a date at the very end of the century, then the Attic script in which it was written constitutes a unique exception which must be frankly allowed or in some manner explained away. It was a suggestion of Kahrstedt (*Gött. Nachr.*, 1932, p. 79) that the Attic script may

have held on in Eleusis in spite of the law of Archinos, and he conceives this document to be a decree of the Eleusinian Republic and not a decree of the Athenians. However, Wade-Gery's assignment of a new fragment, Eleusis Cat. No. 175, makes it highly probable that the decree was a decree of the Athenians. This is in fact certain if the restorations suggested by Wade-Gery are correct. Kahrstedt also thought that he detected an Ionic lambda in the photograph published by Kourouniotis, which, of course, would be an argument for a relatively late date (*op. cit.*, p. 79). It may be stated categorically that the lettering throughout is pure Attic, so that this consideration does not play any part in the argument.

There are now two valid epigraphical reasons for giving to the Eleusinian document the earlier of the two dates which have been suggested for it. One of these is the fact that Attic letters were not used after 403/2 and the other is the fact that an identification of hands shows that this inscription may best be associated with others inscribed by the same man, probably in the years between 440 and 430 B.C.

This study of individual hands is something relatively new in the technique of Attic epigraphy. One has, of course, always made the attempt to bring together the scattered fragments of a single inscription, but only recently have groups of documents come to be associated with individual stonemasons. It is perhaps too early to say whether the evidence will

justify the conclusions that are being drawn from it. There is the danger always of distinguishing identical hands from those that are merely similar, and this danger increases wherever the stylistic features of a given period tend to make themselves evident in general practice. It is still hazardous to date many of the inscriptions of the third and second centuries by letter forms alone. One needs only to observe that decrees of the archonship of Charikles, who was thought well dated in 239/8,²⁷ have been shown by recent discoveries to belong in 196/5,²⁸ and that decrees from the year of Diogeiton probably should be assigned to 270/69 rather than to 252/1 as formerly believed.²⁹ This new attribution of the documents from Diogeiton's year was made in part from the character of the writing, for *I.G.*, II², 772 (Diogeiton) resembles very closely *I.G.*, II², 665 (Nikias Otryneus), which is known to belong in 268/7.

But whatever the uncertainty about Diogeiton, the significant fact is that two inscriptions which have been traditionally dated within thirteen years of each other must instead be widely separated, probably by as much as seventy-four years. Clearly, further study of Hellenistic script and of Hellenistic hands is necessary.

In this direction much has been done and is being done by Dow, who has already published a comparative study of a long series of homogeneous texts in his volume on the Athenian Councillors.³⁰ For the most part Dow is conservative in pressing the claims

of the new evidence of identification of hands, and by one reviewer at least this has been interpreted as a weakness rather than a virtue in his chronological discussions.³¹ It would be better to say that the new technique is still largely unexplored, but that the results it suggests ought to be pointed out even if not claimed as certain, or even if they lead to apparent contradictions.

Feyel writes of the work as follows: "Les discussions chronologiques ne sont pas toujours très convaincantes, et elles sont quelquefois en accord médiocre avec ce qui est dit des écritures. Ainsi, le n° 49, déjà cité, est, paraît-il, 'de la même main' que le n° 73. Or, M. Dow propose de placer la première inscription en 192/1, la seconde en 166/5. Mais comment croire que l'écriture d'un lapicide a pu, pendant vingt-six ans, rester assez parfaitement identique à elle-même pour que nous puissions la reconnaître aujourd'hui sans crainte d'erreur? Pour le n° 21, M. Dow adopt la date de M. Meritt, soit 238/7; mais 'l'écriture, en elle-même, suggère 194/3.'"

The present author believes it possible that Dow may have taken a quite similar hand for an identical hand as between his nos. 49 and 73, but that if he has been correct in the identification, the interval of twenty-six years between two decrees cut in the same style by one man is not impossibly long. As to the date of no. 21, it may be pointed out that Dow does not press the evidence of writing for the date because of his uncertainty about it.³² Meritt has suggested

for this inscription the date 250/49,³³ and the traditional date has been "ante med. s. III."³⁴ Such discrepancies emphasize the need for caution and for further study.

Closely allied to the problem of hands is the question of the stoichedon pattern, its use or non-use, and its variety of forms. Within recent years we may record a noteworthy advance in the systematic study of this epigraphic phenomenon, one volume being devoted exclusively to stoichedon writing.³⁵ Although there is less variation among the chequer patterns of such texts than there is among the letter forms, there are at times unique patterns which, together with other evidence, make some identifications certain. Any new fragment of the Athenian assessment decree of 425 B.C., for example, could be identified at once, not only through its writing, but also through the chequer pattern of its stoichedon order. Each chequer unit measures 0.017 m. in width and 0.0135 m. in height in the decree, and 0.015 m. in width by 0.012 m. in height in the list of names. The chequer is extraordinary for the fifth century in that the horizontal exceeds the vertical measurement, in exception to the rule which Austin illustrates in his table of examples (*op. cit.*, pp. 33-36) and which he summarizes as follows: "It will be seen from an analysis of this table that the engravers of the fifth century and (to a less extent) of the earlier fourth century showed a preference for a chequer-unit with a vertical side slightly longer than the horizontal side."

The assessment decree is one of the relatively few inscriptions that do not follow this canon (see Fig. 13), and its unusual pattern, together with its characteristic script, makes possible the identification of any fragment of it.

In a more general way, the size and shape of the chequer-units, as well as the nature of the lettering, permit some approximation of date. Austin remarks (*op. cit.*, pp. 36-37) that "the most noticeable changes which took place shortly after the middle of the fourth century were, firstly, the decrease in the dimensions of the chequer-unit (accompanied by a decrease in the size of the lettering), secondly, the growth of the tendency to use a precisely square chequer-unit." In the third century there was much greater irregularity, and the proportion of non-stoichedon inscriptions increased. Austin notes the influence on the style of the growing popularity of tapering stelai and the more consistent desire to divide words syllabically (*op. cit.*, pp. 111-112).³⁶ The stoichedon style was generally abandoned in Attic decrees after 229 B.C., and this date becomes a useful fixed point in chronological classification.³⁷ These are all factors that have to be taken into account by the epigraphist who wishes to weigh the evidence offered by the stone itself for the date of the inscription carved upon it.

IV
RESTORATION

THERE will probably always be a division of opinion as to the extent of restoration which is desirable in a fragmentary document. Some restoration can be made with absolute certainty, but for one reason or another the possibility of a sure restoration may become more and more doubtful until finally any restoration suggested would have to be considered in the realm of pure conjecture. Along this sliding scale of certainty and uncertainty there comes also a time when the exact wording of a restoration may not be correct but when the general sense and tenor of the argument can be carried through approximately as in the original by means of restoration. Analogies offer considerable assistance. For example, there is almost nothing preserved on stone of the Ionic panel in the Athenian tribute-quota list of 443/2 B.C., but the exact amount of space available for the restoration of the list is known, and there are better preserved Ionic panels in the same assessment period. It is thus possible to reconstruct also a complete list for the year 443/2.¹ This is a restoration which has not been made customarily in the past, but because of the nature of the circumstances in this particular case the supplements suggested may with reasonable assurance be considered correct. The exact order of the names within the panel may not be precisely accurate, though we believe un-

443/2 B.C.

[Ιονικό φόρο]

5	[ΓΗΤΗΙΙ]	[Διοσιρῆται]	ΓΗΤΗΙΙ	Διοσιρῆται
	[Γ]	[Θερμαῖοι ἔχς 'Ι]	Γ	Θερμαῖοι ἔχς 'Ι
10	[Γ]	[Μαραθέσιοι]	Γ	Μαραθέσιοι
	[ΔΓΗΙΙΙ]	[Γρυνιέται]	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Γρυνιέται
15	[ΔΔΔΓΗΤΗΙΙ]	[Νοτιέται]	ΔΔΔΓΗΤΗΙΙ	Νοτιέται
	[Η]	[Νισύριοι]	Η	Νισύριοι
20	[ΡΔΓΗΙΙΙ]	[Οίναῖοι ἔχς 'Ι]	10 ΡΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Οίναῖοι 'Ικαρ
	[ΗΡ]	[Κολοφόνιοι]	[Η]Ρ	Κολοφόνιοι
25	[Η]	[Μυρινᾶῖοι παρὰ Κύ]	ΗΗ	Φοκαῖοι
	[Η]	[Λεβέδιοι]	Η	Λίραιοι
30	[Η]	[Αλραιέται]	Η	Λεβέδιοι
	[ΗΗ]	[Φοκαῖοι]	15 Η	Μυρινᾶῖοι παρὰ Κ
35	[ΡΗ]	[Τέιοι]	[Ρ]Η	Τέιοι
	[ΡΗΗΗΗ]	[Κυμαῖοι]	[ΡΗ]ΗΗΗ	Κυμαῖοι
40	[ΔΓΗΙΙΙ]	[Ἐλαίταια]	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Ἐλαίταια
	[ΓΗΤΗΙΙ]	[Ἄστυρενοι Μυσοι]	ΓΗΤΗΙΙ	[Ἄστυρενοι Μυσοι]
45	[ΔΓΗΙΙΙ]	[Πιτανᾶῖοι]	20 ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	[Πιτανᾶῖοι]
	[ΡΗΗ]	[Ἐρυθρᾶῖοι]	Η	[Πριανῆς]
50	[ΗΗΗ]	[Ἐλαιώσιοι]	[ΡΗΗ]	[Ἐρυθρᾶῖοι]
	[ΔΓΗΙΙΙ]	[Βούθεια]	[ΗΗΗ]	[Ἐλαιώσιοι]
55	[ΡΔΓΗΙΙΙ]	[Πολιχνῦται]	[ΡΔΓΗΙΙΙ]	[Πολιχνῦται]
	[ΗΗΗ]	[Πτελεόσιοι]	25 ΗΗΗ	[Πτελεόσιοι]
60	[ΓΗΤΗΙΙ]	[Σιδόσιοι]	ΓΗΤΗΙΙ	[Σιδόσιοι]
	[ΡΔΔΓΗΤΗΙΙΙ]	[Γαργαρῆς]	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Βούθεια
65	[Η]	[Μνέ[σσιοι]	Η	[Μνέ]σσιοι
	[Η]	Πριενῆς	Η	[Π]ριενῆς
70	[Η]	Πυγελῆς	30 ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	[Π]σίνδιοι
	[ΔΓΗ]ΙΙΙ	Ισινδῖοι	[Ρ]	Μιλέσιοι
75	[Ρ]Η	Ἐφέσιοι	[ΡΗ]	[Ἐφέσιοι]
	ΗΡ	Κλαζομένιοι	[ΗΡ]	Κλαζομένιοι
80	Ρ	Μιλέσιοι	ΡΔΔΓΗΤΗΙΙΙ	Γαργαρῆς

442/1 B.C.

[Ιονικός φόρος]

likely any considerable variation from the text of the original monument. But this does not destroy or impair in any way the value of the restorations for the student who wishes to know which cities of the Ionic province paid tribute in the spring of 442. The closest parallel is between the lists of 443/2 and 442/1. The table on page 110 shows at once the similarity of the documents and the extent of the restorations.

The ability to compare one document with another is enhanced in those categories where the documents all deal with similar themes and subject material. This proved to be particularly true in the study which Sterling Dow has made of the decrees honoring the Athenian Councillors, more than a hundred of which he published in Supplement I of *Hesperia*. I wish to remark particularly on one document there published, no. 79, in which his restorations seem particularly extensive in view of the small amount of stone preserved (Fig. 18). Here, between a group of fragments from the upper part of the stone and the next preserved fragment from the body of the text, Dow has restored fourteen complete lines. The restoration is made in conformity with the known length of lines of the inscription and with the known formulae employed in such documents in the period to which this inscription belongs, and Dow claims for it merely that "the number of lines restored is within one of being correct":

[Ἐρεχθεῖδος ὑπέρ τ]ῶν [θυ]σι[ῶν ὡν ἔθυον τὰ πρὸ τῶν]
 [ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῶν Προστατηρίων]
 [καὶ τεῖ 'Αρτέμιδι τεῖ Βουλαίαι καὶ τεῖ Φωσφό']
 [ρωι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν· ἀγα']
 [θεῖ τίχει δεδόχθαι τῶν δήμων τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ']
 [δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς λεοῦσι οἷς ἔθυ']
 [ον ἐφ' ὑγιειναὶ καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ']
 [τοῦ δήμου καὶ παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν φί']
 [λῶν καὶ συμμάχων ἐπειδὴ δέ οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰς τε]
 [θυσιας ἔθυσαν ἀπάσας δοσαι καθῆκον ἐν τεῖ πρυ']
 [τανεῖαι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, ἐπεμελήθησαν']
 [δέ καὶ τῆς συλλογῆς τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου']
 [καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὡν αὐτοῖς προσέταττον]
 [οἱ τε νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου ἐπιανέ']
 [σαι τοὺς πρυτάνεις τῆς 'Ἐρεχθεῖδος καὶ στεφα']
 [νῶσαι αὐτοῖς χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κατ]ὰ τὸ[ν νόμον]

This is an instance in which the general sense of the restoration is undoubtedly right,² even though there is question as to the exact arrangement of the words and their disposition upon the stone. This particular document has been singled out by Feyel³ as an outstanding example of the liberty which Dow allows himself in making excessive restoration. Feyel writes, "D'après ces calculs, M. Dow a cru pouvoir donner des restitutions intégrales des fragments les plus insignifiants, et il attribue ensuite aux textes ainsi restitués la valeur documentaire qu'ils pourraient avoir s'ils étaient mieux conservés. Le comble est atteint au n° 79, où M. Dow restitue, entre deux fragments, quatorze lignes dont il ne subsiste absolument rien et dont on ne connaît même pas le nombre véritable. On peut se demander si ce n'est pas là du travail perdu. . . ." Feyel apparently is still con-



FIG. 18. STOICHEDON TEXT OF THE SECOND CENTURY

sidering the document in the light of its two-dimensional surface only and has failed to realize that, as one of the few preserved Athenian allotment machines, the reverse surface of the document is fully as important as the front. In fact, it is useful to know how many rows of slots there were for the allotment and how many slots there were in each row. Dow has reconstructed the monument with sufficient accuracy to show that there were six rows and that there may indeed have been fifty slots in each row (*op. cit.*, pp. 206-207). He was enabled to reach this conclusion partly because of his knowledge of the amount of space available between the upper and the central fragments of the stele. The extent of this lacuna on the reverse of the stone was determined by the necessary restorations in the text on its obverse face. Far from being "lost labor" as Feyel would have us suppose, the making of these restorations was essential to the understanding of the monument and as such entirely justifiable (see Fig. 19). Of course Dow might have made the same restoration in his own notes, simply determining a lacuna of fourteen lines and indicating this in his text on page 144 merely by fourteen lines of dashes, but in so doing he would have deprived the reader of the evidence for his determination. It is best that the reader have this evidence and not be left to wonder how the extent of the lacuna was determined.

Epigraphists are constantly busy with the restoration of inscriptions long known and published. There

are many documents which have in the course of study received various interpretations and as many different restorations. One is encouraged to believe that as different men with different points of view bring their talents to bear on a difficult problem, constant improvement in the validity of our restored texts will be made. Nowhere is this progress more apparent than in the successive editions of the inscriptions published in the Attic *Corpus*, which have perhaps engaged the attention of more scholars than any other other one geographical group. Many of the more fragmentary pieces were first edited by Pittakys and Rangabé without attempt at restoration at all. But of these a great many have now been discovered to belong with other pieces, and through comparative study a great many have been developed and expanded with restorations of their own which can be supported by analogy with better-preserved texts. The labors of Koehler, Hiller, Kirchner, and Wilhelm have done much to make intelligible fragments which by themselves and at first glance seem to be susceptible of no interpretation. One man's attempt, even though it may not receive general acceptance, may arouse the interest or criticism of someone else who, with more time at his disposal or with a happier insight, may carry the problem forward; and there are doubtless still many fragments which have been studied and commented upon for years which deserve, and in the course of time will receive, the necessary study to make pos-

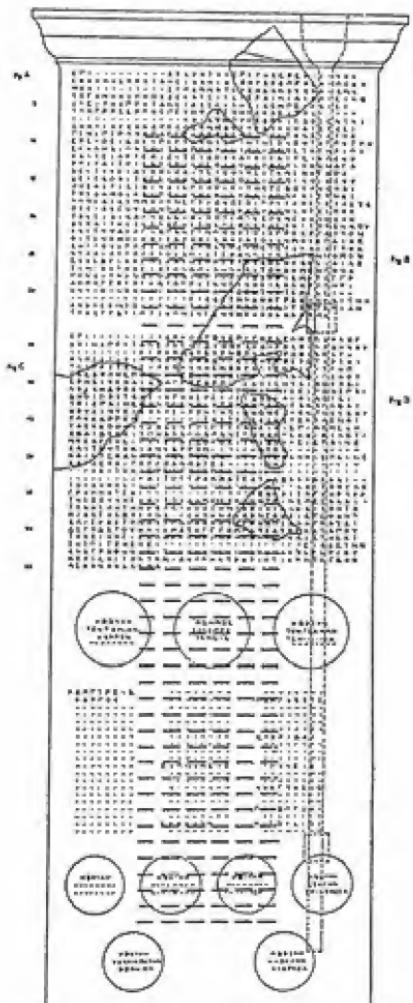


FIG. 19. DRAWING OF THE INSCRIPTION SHOWN IN FIG. 18.
THE SLOTS ARE ON THE REVERSE

sible the restoration and interpretation which will receive general acceptance. As Marcus Tod has remarked in the introduction of his *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (p. ix) "The progress of epigraphical studies is unresting, and nowhere more so than in the

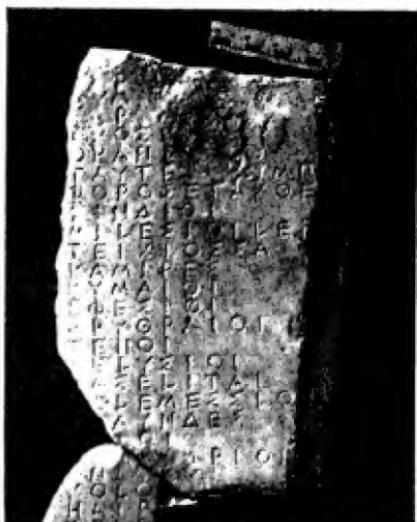


FIG. 20. FRAGMENT 25 OF THE ASSESSMENT DECREE

field of Athenian public inscriptions of the fifth century B.C.," though many have doubtless been led to believe that in some cases Hiller von Gärtringen was justified in assuming "dass... eine gewisse Stille eingetreten und ohne neue Funde kaum etwas von Belang zu machen sei" (*Phil. Woch.*, 1929, p. 1176).

A good example of the way in which constant attempts at restoration have finally given an intelligi-

ble interpretation to a seemingly very difficult fragment is found in the case of a small piece of the Athenian assessment decree of 425 B.C. (Fig. 20). This document was first published by Rangabé in his *Antiquités Helléniques* in 1842, and subsequently by Boeckh, Pittakys, Rangabé again, and Koehler before it was taken over into the first volume of the Attic *Corpus*. The upper lines of the fragment were always very much of a puzzle, and it was some time before any serious attempt was made to effect a restoration of them. In majuscule form the text was given by Koehler in his *Urkunden und Untersuchungen* as follows (Plate x, no. 18):

I
P
Y M I
\ P A M [redacted] frei
P O Σ F [redacted]
O P A N I [redacted] frei
T A Y T E Σ [redacted] / M Γ
Φ O P O Σ E T A X Θ E

Koehler indicated in his transcript (p. 71) what he considered to be some of the possibilities of restoration:

5
— — — ρ — — —
— — νμ — — —
— γραμ[ματε.] —
— [δ φό]ρος ἐ — —
— [ἐπιφ]οράν — —
— — ταῦτης ξυμπ —
— — [δ] φόρος ἐτάχθη

His preference was to reject the rather elaborate restoration of Boeckh (*Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, II², pp. 544-545):

[']Επι[]-----
 . . ρ ----- [v] --
 . υμι -----
 [é]γραμ[μάτευε, καθά πρότερον δ φ] -
 [ó]ρος ἐ[τάχθη δουσῶν τῶν πόλεων ἐπιφ] -
 5 οράν [τὴν ἐκάστοτε τεταγμένην]
 ταύτης [ξυ]μπ[εριελημένης δ]
 φόρος ἐτάχθη [κατὰ τάδε].

Boeckh's restoration could not in any case have been correct, one sufficient reason being that it necessitated the assumption of letters where the stone still preserves its surface uninscribed. Koehler gave the evidence for these uninscribed portions of the stone in his majuscule text by writing "frei" at the ends of lines 3 and 5 (as he numbered them). A glance at the photograph in Fig. 20 shows that he might have written "frei" at the end of line 4 as well.

When the transcription was taken over into the first volume of *Inscriptiones Graecae* (I.G., I, 37, frag. 1) the uninscribed spaces were shown correctly in the majuscule copy, though not marked "frei" or "vac.," and Kirchhoff made an attempt to respect them when he came to propose his restoration. Only in his line 5 would the supposed text fall partly upon the smooth uninscribed area of the marble:

[·Οπόσηστ τῶν πό] -
 [λεων ξ]υ[νεκεχώ] -
 [οητο φέ]ο[ειν μὴ ·]
 [άμα ξ]ύμπ[αντας,]
 [άλλα π]αρά μ[έρος]
 5 [τούς φό]ρους, έ[πὶ τῷ]
 [έπιφ]οράν [τελεῖν,]
 [άνευ] ταύτης [ξ]ύμπ -
 [ας δ] φόρος ἐτάχθη.

This restoration, however, had the added disadvantage of leaving a left margin which failed to align with the names listed below. Subsequent editors have tried to correct this fault, though in so doing both Cavaignac⁴ and Hiller⁵ allowed their restorations to run over again onto the uninscribed surfaces. Furthermore, a misreading of the stone, taken over from Cavaignac,⁶ was repeated in Hiller's line 3:⁷

[δπόσεστ τῶν πό] -
 [λεον χσυνεκεχόρ] -
 [ετ]ο [φέρεν μὲ χ] -
 [σ]ύμπ[αντας, ἀλλά]
 5 [π]αρά μ[έρος τὸς φ] -
 [δ]ρος, έ[πὶ τῷ ἐπιφ]
 οράν [τελεῖν, ἀνευ]
 ταύτες [χσ]ύμπ[ας δ]
 φόρος ἐτάχθε.

Mistakes of this sort would have been avoided if one had consulted a good squeeze or a photograph, or if one had utilized the evidence of the early transcriptions.

There was even some question as to whether the fragment belonged at all to the assessment decree of 425 B.C., for in 1916 Bannier wrote as follows:⁸

“Die Fragmente I 37 t-w sollen nach dem Corpus Verzeichnisse von Tributstädten sein, welchen bis dahin Teilzahlungen unter der Bedingung bewilligt waren, dass sie eine *ἐπιφορά* zahlten, Vergünstigungen, die jetzt fortfallen sollen. Wir haben aber dem äusseren Anscheine nach eine regelrechte Veranlagungsliste vor uns, und zwar des ionisch-karischen Tributes. Die Städte sind nämlich ebenso wie die Inselstädte im grossen und ganzen nach der Höhe des zu leistenden Tributes geordnet. — — — Die Deutung der Zeilen über den Namen ist also sehr zweifelhaft und wird sicher aufzugeben sein. Dies scheint mir um so weniger bedenklich, als sie nur auf Ergänzungen und Deutungen von ganz kümmерlichen Resten beruht, welche Böckh und seine Nachfolger für eine Überschrift hielten. — — — Die Zeilen, welche Böckh als Abschnittsüberschrift ge deutet hat, sind gewiss die letzten Zeilen des Dekrets, welches den Listen voranging. Die Worte *φόρος ἐτάχθη*, welche allein sicher sind, scheinen Reste von *κατὰ τάδε τῆσι πόλεσι φόρος ἐτάχθη* entsprechend dem Satze *κατὰ τάδε ἐταξεν τὸ μέρον τοῦ φόρου τῆσι πόλεσιν ἡ βουλὴ* in I 37 zu sein. Das Fragment gehört also zu dem anderen Veranlagungsdekret, von dem noch 37 z'', vielleicht auch 37 x und Suppl. S. 140 übrig sind.”

This interpretation also was wrong, in that it necessitated the restoration of a continuous text which would run across the uninscribed surface still preserved on the fragment. Whatever was to be made of the troublesome upper lines of this small

piece of marble, no interpretation could be maintained which required that they should be construed as the continuous lines of a decree.

Yet the belief that fragment *t* of *I.G.*, 1, 37, could not be combined with the assessment of 425 B.C. persisted, and found expression in the early studies of the tribute lists by West and Meritt.⁹ Only after they had examined the stones did they become convinced that Bannier's attribution was impossible,¹⁰ but in spite of the characteristic lettering they hesitated to claim fragment *t* as part of the assessment of 425 because of a supposed duplication of names and some apparent discrepancies in style.¹¹ It was a thesis of Kolbe that all the fragments of assessment decrees known from the *Corpus* belonged to two copies of the same decree, the assessment of 425,¹² but this was disproved by West,¹³ who edited again fragments of the two assessment lists of 425 and 421. He still believed that fragment *t* might belong to a different assessment, and in Tod's *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 66, attributions were made, based on arguments of West, to three different lists, perhaps even to four (*op. cit.*, p. 163). It was not until the publication of *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.* that Meritt and West were able to resolve the apparent contradictions of style and the supposed duplication of names to show that the fragments then known belonged to two lists only, and that fragment *t* should be placed in the first column of names in the assessment of 425.

When the physical evidence was taken into account it was perfectly clear that some of the items in the upper lines of this fragment represented names of cities. The recognition of this fact marked the first significant advance that had been made in years in the restoration of the text, and was reflected in the transcript given by Tod, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158:

5

[Αά]ο[ισα ?]
[Οφ]ρ[ίνειον ?]
[Θ]ύμβ[ρα]
[Α]δραμ[ίττιον]
[Π]ροσε[λήνη]
Ὀραν[ῆτα]ι
Ταύρησ[ι σ]ύμπ[ασ δ]
φόρος ἑτάχθη. --

Restoration and interpretation were here marching *pari passu*. The line which Hiller had interpreted as *οράν* [*τελέν*, *ἄνευ*] was seen by West and Meritt to be a place name, 'Ὀραν[ῆτα]ι', and it was West's belief that the traces of names above it might be taken to represent cities of Akte.

Although we now know that his assignment was not correct, it was nevertheless a progressive step in the interpretation of this inscription. Subsequent study in the Museum at Athens showed quite conclusively that the fragment was part of the Ionic panel of the great assessment list of 425. It then became necessary to suggest for the upper lines names which belonged to the districts of Ionia and Karia, and the Aktaian suggestions had to be abandoned.

There was still, however, the difficulty of finding

suitable restorations within the Ionic-Karic district for the names in the upper part of the fragment. Several suggestions were made by Meritt and West with a view to localizing the group which paid together in the region of Lycia.¹⁴ It was uncertain, for example, whether the letters in line 3 should be read as: [.] Y M Γ [---] or as [.] Y M N [---] and they suggested the restoration [Σ]υμπ[ρα] as a possible variant of [Σ]υμρ[ρα]. This was all, of course, most tentative. In the following line were the letters [.] ΑΡΑΜ[....]. Generally in the tribute lists a locative designation for the place of a city is given by the preposition παρά, so they assumed here such a phrase: [π]αρά M[....]. One could only hazard a guess as to the name of the town, but since at most it contained five letters in the accusative case, they suggested the possibility [π]αρά M[ὑραν].¹⁵ Beyond the fact that they believed the syntely to belong in Lycia, they did not go. Their text read as follows:

110	[Λύκιοι καὶ] [χσυντελέσ] [---] [πα]ρ[ά ---] [.]υμπ[---]
115	[π]αρά M[ὑραν] vac. [.]ροσε [....] vac. Ὀραν[έρα] ταύτεσι [σ]υμπ[ας ἡο] φόρος ἐτάχθε

The next significant advance in the interpretation of this document was made by L. Robert (*Rev. de*

Phil., vol. LXII, 1936, pp. 274-284) when he identified the Ouranion of this Ionic-Karic province of the tribute lists with the Uranium mentioned by Pliny in his *Natural History* as one of the small towns near Halicarnassus.¹⁶ The group of towns which paid tribute together, and of which Uranium was one, had, therefore, to be sought in Karia and not in Lycia. Robert rejected all suggestions of supplement which had been made for Lycia and proposed new ones of his own, in some instances, for Karia. His contribution to the text, aside from the geographical identification, was to read in lines 3-4:

[K]υμν[ισσεῖ]
[π]αρὰ M[ύρδον].

When Meritt subsequently objected (*A.J.P.*, vol. LVIII, 1937, pp. 385-387) to Robert's restoration [π]αρὰ M[ύρδον] as epigraphically impossible, it was on the ground that the final letter which Robert here supplied would have to fall upon an uninscribed portion of the stone. Meritt suggested in place of this phrase, or any similar phrase, the reading [T]άραμ[πτός], which Robert also now accepts. His comment in acknowledging the new reading is as follows:

"Le fait que je suis passé si près de la restitution sans la trouver montre, une fois de plus, combien il est difficile, dans l'étude d'un texte déjà publié, de se dégager complètement des erreurs des précédents éditeurs; j'avais rejeté, avec raison, presque toutes

les restitutions de Meritt et West aux lignes 110-115; j'ai gardé seulement la coupe et la restitution [π]αρὰ M—, si fréquente dans les listes, sans penser à couper autrement; j'aurais dû l'écartier aussi.”¹⁷

There is nothing new in the history of this document in the fact that one editor has felt compelled to reject the restorations and interpretations of his predecessors. Naturally, with his Karian identification of Uranium, Robert rejected all restorations that implied connection with Lycia. But almost immediately after publication his own suggested restorations had in turn to be abandoned. In addition to [T]άραμ[πτος] Meritt was able to supply in lines 113-114 the name of a well-known Karic group

[Kâ]ρ[es κῶν]
[T]ύμ[es ἄρχει]

in place of Robert's quite hypothetical [K]υμ[ισσῆς].

One further identification has been made by Wade-Gery in the discovery that [.]POΣΕ[---] should be restored as [K]ροσῆ[ς], naming the people of Crusa, a small Karic town also mentioned by Pliny in his *Natural History*. As at present constituted the list reads as follows:¹⁸

[Σναγγελῆς]
[‘Αμ].[ναρδῆς]
[Κâ]ρ[es κῶν]
[T]ύμ[es ἄρχει]
[T]άραμ[πτος]

[Κ]ροσθ[ε]
 Ὁραν[έτα]ι
 ταύρεοι [ο]ύμπ[as ho]
 φόρος ἐτάχθε.

The names in the first two lines have been restored to suggest a possible center of the syntely and may or may not find general acceptance.¹⁹

The story of this small fragment illustrates the slow and tedious way in which the efforts of many people combine to bring at last a satisfactory solution. Our predecessors should be remembered, not for the restorations they made which we now know to be incorrect, but for their contributions which helped to make the final solution possible.

As a matter of text alone every restoration must be true in point of time and style to the inscription to which it belongs. Kirchner once remarked that when he came to the decrees of the Athenian state which were concerned with the expedition to Sicily, he turned for his guide to the pages of Thucydides and built up his restorations in the light of the history as related by that author.²⁰ Such restorations do not need to claim verbal accuracy. Their purpose is to yield a consecutive text in a fragmentary document so that a probable, or even possible, meaning may be derived from it. It is much easier for a student to follow and control an interpretation given by the epigraphist if the interpretation is expanded into epigraphical language that might once have appeared upon the stone. Such restoration for the sake of

interpretation is sometimes carried in the footnotes and not inserted in the text of the document proper. This method may serve for very hypothetical cases, but even so the suggestions should be scaled to the exact lacuna available and to the amount of stone open for restoration. This conformity gives at least a guarantee that it is physically possible for them to be considered as guides to interpretation. But a good suggestion is most easily followed if inserted into the text, where the angular brackets leave no doubt as to what is part of the original still preserved on the stone. This is the principle on which the first volume of the *Editio Minor* of Attic inscriptions was prepared, and Hiller writes of his own work as editor in the following terms (*Phil. Woch.*, 1929, p. 1175): "Seine Vorliebe galt den Dekreten; hier wurde versucht, durch mögliche Ergänzungen die Fetzen grosser Stelen einigermassen zu verbinden, wobei Irrtümer, sogar die schlimmeren, nämlich Stilwidrigkeiten, nicht gefürchtet werden durften. Ein Corpus ist nur für Erwachsene da, und diese müssen wissen, was eckige Klammern bedeuten; wenn nicht, so lassen sie besser ihre Hände von der Epigraphik, abgesehen von einigen tadellos erhaltenen Texten, die freilich auch ihre eigenen Interpretationsschwierigkeiten darbieten."

Whatever the shortcomings in the published forms of the inscriptions in Hiller's volume, I believe that the book is more serviceable because of the interpretation that has been given through the medium of

restoration, and I believe that it offers a firmer basis for the subsequent work that has been done on some of its inscriptions.²¹ Along the lines suggested by Hiller and with the same purpose in mind, I have not hesitated to translate my own conception of an epigraphical text into terms which can best be understood through restoration where the angular brackets are always present to warn the reader of the extent of every supplement. This has been particularly true of the restorations now offered for the audited record of state borrowings from 426-422 B.C., *I.G.*, 1², 324,²² and for the publication which was made by West and me of the Athenian assessment of 425, *I.G.*, 1², 63.²³ Because of the nature of the material, even the literal accuracy of the restored text of the former inscription is in large part capable of demonstration by mathematical calculation. This cannot be said of the text of the assessment decree, and it would be rash indeed to claim verbal accuracy for many of the longer restored passages of it. Nonetheless, the restorations do prove that the interpretation is epigraphically possible, and in some instances they have in my opinion sufficient weight even to condition the interpretation. The particular instance which has seemed to cause most skepticism has been the location of the small fragment 4. There can be no question that this fragment belongs to the text of the decree to which it is now assigned. It was so attributed by Kirchhoff in *I.G.*, 1, 37, and presumably it was no more than a simple mistake or over-

sight that it was later published as part of *I.G.*, 1², 65, with which it does not belong. Not only is the lettering identical with that of the known fragments of the assessment decree, but the stoichedon pattern is the same, and of a type so unusual that it is unique among Attic decrees.²⁴ This fragment 4 does not make a join with any of the other preserved pieces of the inscription, so a physical demonstration of its correct position cannot be offered. It must be placed, if possible, by restoration.

As one glances at a drawing which shows the preserved and lost portions of the assessment decree (Figs. 21 and 22) it seems at first glance that there is so much lost that this small fragment might be fitted in almost anywhere.²⁵ But once the attempt to place it in any one definite position is made, it is surprising to find into how many places it cannot go. One will find, I believe, upon trial that it must belong in one or the other of the large lacunae in the upper part of the document above line 24.

So far as I am aware, the only objection to the position to which it is now assigned comes from the restoration of the word *nomothetai* which West and I first suggested for line 16: *hoi δὲ [νομο]θέται δικαστέριον νέον κα[θ]ιστάντον*. Nesselhauf, for example, writes as follows (*Gnomon*, vol. xii, 1936, p. 297): "Wenn Z. 16 ergänzt wird *hoi δὲ [νομο]θέται δικαστέριον νέον κα[θ]ιστάντον* . . . mit der Bemerkung im Kommentar, dass dies eine bisher unbekannte Bestimmung ist, die dem Fr. 4 verdankt

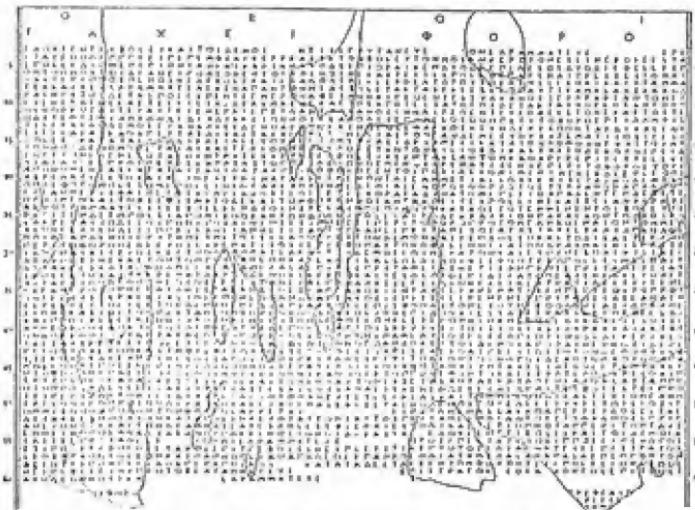


FIG. 21. THE ASSESSMENT DECREES

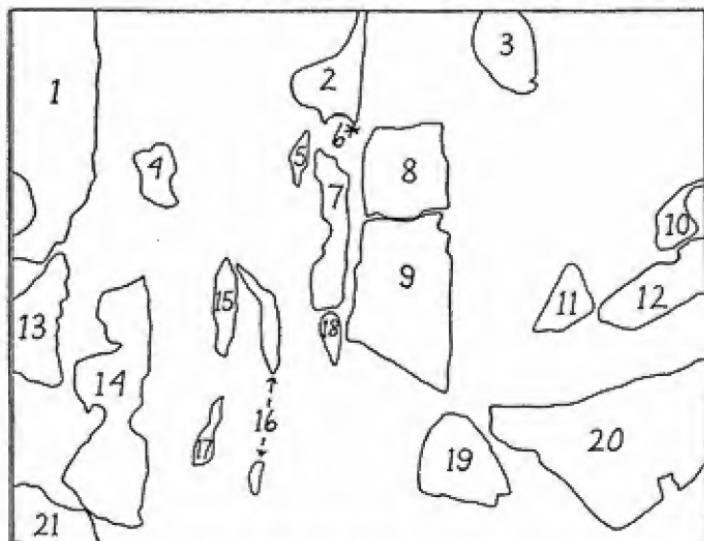


FIG. 22. FRAGMENTS OF THE ASSESSMENT DECREES



wird, so wünschte man sich statt dessen im Kommentar die Feststellung, dass es in Athen damals überhaupt kein in Frage kommendes Kollegium von *νομοθέται* gab und im Text daraus den Schluss, dass Fr. 4 nicht an diese Stelle gehört.”²⁶ There can be no doubt that there is involved here a question of principle and of method in the restoration of epigraphical texts. If one could be absolutely certain that a board of nomothetai could not have been in existence in Athens in the autumn of 425 B.C., the restoration would of course have to be changed. It does not follow that the position of fragment 4 would be incorrect, because whatever the solution that one might offer for the phrase *καὶ δὲ [....] θέτα[ι]*, granting mention of nomothetai to be impossible, fragment 4 would still be tied to its assigned place by consecutive readings in eight of its nine lines. Some of the readings and restorations in these eight lines have more probative value than others. I believe that if they are studied individually, the following lines will seem to have greatest significance:

(17-18) *τὰς [γῦν τάχσες χσ]ὸν τὲ [βο]λὲι χσυντα[χσάντον καθά περ ἐπὶ τῆς τελευτ]αῖς ἀρχές [πρὸς] μέρο[ς ἡπάσας τὸ Π]οστ δε[ιδ]υος μενός—; (19-20) [κε δὲ βολὲ πλέθοσα] χρεματι[ζέτο κ]αὶ χ[συνεχὲς ήτνα τ]ά[χσ]ες γ[έ]νονται—; (20-22) *τ[ο]ν δὲ φόρο[ν δλέξ]ο μὲ π[δλει γῦν ταχσάντ]ον μ[ε]δεμάι εἰ οἱ[πόσον πρὸ τὸ ἐτύγχανον ἀπάγ]ουτ[ες —].**

I have, of course, attempted to find some restoration for this fragment in other possible positions in

the two upper lacunae of this document, but in every case, except here where the fragment is now assigned, the difficulties seemed insuperable and the attempt had to be abandoned. Perhaps others, in making the same attempt, will find success, but I believe that those who wish to move fragment 4 should make some constructive effort to give it a new and better position and show how a satisfactory text can be built up about it in its new location. Irrespective of the nomothetai, therefore, I believe the present position sound. Had the board, which apparently created the new court, been composed of thesmothetai rather than nomothetai, I doubt whether the position of fragment 4 would ever have been challenged. Such an interpretation can be read into the text, if one wishes, by assuming an error on the part of the stonemason. Obviously the restoration [$\theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omega$] $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha$ [ι] is too long by one letter for the space available, so one may suppose that the mason cut, let us say, the letters Θ E Ξ M O , and then, thinking that he was completing the theta as he finished what was really the omicron before it, that he continued with E T A I . Epigraphically this reading should be recorded in a transcribed text as [$\theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omega$] $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha$ [ι].²⁷

It appears that the best statement of the crux which involves these nomothetai and the published restoration is not after all one which entails a change in the position of fragment 4, as Nesselhauf seemed to think desirable, but rather one which necessitates

a decision between a restoration which is epigraphically exact, though implying the existence of a board about which we lack information, and a restoration which names a known board, though it involves an assumption of error on the part of the stonemason. The decision, in a measure, is bound to be subjective, and it will depend upon the confidence one feels in the completeness of his knowledge about nomothetai and in the confidence one feels about the reliability of the stonemason who engraved this particular inscription.²⁸ In some inscriptions one would have less hesitation in assuming error, but the present document was cut with such beautiful regularity and care that one would be very reluctant to assume a mistake here. So far as the preserved fragments give evidence, there is not a single false stroke or cutting in the entire text of the decrees, lines 1-60, with their total of 4027 letters, and in the list of inscribed names below the decrees, amounting to about 450 lines, there was only one figure incorrectly cut (col. iv, line 87). Even this was an error in position, not in form; the mistake was easy to explain, and the correction was made by the engraver. In two other places there were strokes omitted. In col. II, line 149, $\Gamma\Delta\Lambda\Xi\mathbb{E}\Xi$ was written instead of $\Gamma\mathbb{E}\Delta\mathbb{A}\Xi\mathbb{E}\mathbb{Z}$, in line 181 \mathbb{P} was written instead of \mathbb{P} ,²⁹ and one extra letter was inscribed in col. IV, line 62. This is a high record of accuracy in so long a text, and particularly noteworthy is the fact that there is no recognizable error

of any kind in the decrees themselves. Under such circumstances one may claim, in my opinion, that it would be wrong in principle and unsound in method to assume a stonemason's error at the one point in the document where an uncertainty has arisen in the matter of interpretation. It is for this reason that I here believe a restoration must be made which is epigraphically sound, and that this restoration should control the interpretation of the passage.³⁰

Restoration and reconstruction must go hand in hand. No epigraphist should propose a text unless he is familiar with the monument on which it was once inscribed, and the physical features of that monument must inevitably condition any proposed restoration. However persuasive the argument, or however plausible the suggestions that may be made for filling the lacunae in broken texts, there is no hope that they will be right if they cannot be reconciled to the physical requirements of the stone on which the texts were inscribed. The essence of architectural epigraphy is that it abandons the tradition of studying a text divorced from its medium, that it considers the medium as a helpful and indispensable guide to every restoration. If a restoration or interpretation can be made to conform to the stone itself, there is some prospect that it may be right; if it contradicts or ignores this physical requirement, which is the most objective of all possible tests, there is no hope for its validity.

NOTES



NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Details may be found in Boeckh's introduction to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. I.

2. See the account in G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 33-34; also M. N. Tod, *Sidelights on Greek History*, pp. 15-19.

3. A useful review is contained in Hondius' Introduction to Greek Epigraphy *Saxa Loquuntur* (Leiden, 1938).

4. Cf. L. Robert, *Rev. de Phil.*, 1934, pp. 406-408. Dow's study of the inscriptions honoring the Athenian Councillors, which appeared in 1937 under the title *Prytaneis* as Supplement 1 of *Hesperia* is a good example of such a synthetic study. Other synthetic studies will cover a still wider range. The classification of inscriptions by categories rather than by place of discovery or preservation was advocated in 1588 by Martinus Smetius (cf. Hondius, *Saxa Loquuntur*, p. 7) though his proposal was rightly recognized by Boeckh as impractical for the building of the modern *Corpora* (cf. Hondius, *op. cit.*, p. 15). A brief summary of epigraphical publications which are arranged according to content is given in Hondius, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-118. Geographical and categorical arrangements are perhaps frequently combined.

5. Hondius, *Saxa Loquuntur*, p. 16, attributed the first scientific use of squeezes to Philippe Le Bas, whose expedition visited the Peloponnes in 1831-1838.

6. See Dow, *Hesperia*, Supplement I, p. 29. The value of a good squeeze, or of more than one good squeeze, which Dow advocates, is not lessened by the insistence of Feyel (*R.E.A.*, vol. XI, 1938, pp. 331-335) that one must also work directly from the stone and from photographs. Naturally, every means to recover a text should be explored and the best results are apt to be attained by a combination of all possible methods. However carefully a squeeze is made there is always danger that at some place on it, particularly near the margins, there will be an imperfection. Dow's argument that there should be several good squeezes for each doubtful inscription is perfectly sound. In the absence of the stone these squeezes may then be used to control each other.

7. The text is now published as List 27 in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, 1, p. 151.

8. *Intelligenzblatt der Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung*, 1835, pp. 282-283 (from notes of Ludwig Ross).

9. Δέλτιον Ἀρχαιολογικών, 1888, pp. 111-112, no. 3.

10. *Etudes sur l'Histoire Financière d'Athènes*, p. xlvi.

11. *J.H.S.*, vol. xxxiv, 1914, p. 291. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 79 and 96, notes a similar phenomenon in stoichedon texts from Delphi and Miletos. Cf. also Larfeld, *Handbuch der Griechischen Epigraphik*, 1, p. 201. Independently of Woodward, Bauer made similar observations about the lateral face, which he published in a note in *Klio*, vol. xv, 1918, p. 192.

12. A text of this inscription (List 22) is now given in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, 1, p. 147.

13. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, p. 56; Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, p. 96 (cf. also *A.J.P.*, vol. LV, 1934, p. 287).

14. Nesselhauf, *Klio*, Beiheft xxx, p. 57, note 1, writes "Nach Meritts Angabe, Harv. Stud. xxxviii (1927) 28 handelt es sich aber gar nicht um eine Lücke, deren Grösse feststeht, da frgmt. 11 nicht genau eingepasst werden kann. Es könnten also auch ein oder zwei Städte mehr dagestanden haben." There is a misunderstanding here, for the position of fragment 11 (now bearing numbers 9, 66, 67*, and 10) is in fact quite definitely fixed.

15. Pages 231-238.

16. Professor Sidney Deane was good enough to examine the stones and to report upon the relation between the two contiguous surfaces. He was also good enough to confirm through his own observation the necessary changes in the textual readings suggested by Fimmen. This stone has since been carefully examined and the relative disposition of the two surfaces with the readings upon them is now shown by the drawings available in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. xxxviii, 1927, Plate 1, and in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, vol. 1, Plates xix and xxi.

17. Cf. Hiller, *Phil. Woch.*, 1929, p. 1177: "Die Majuskeln . . . mit denen unser Corpus im Prinzip immer rechnet."

18. The preliminary reports in *Hesperia* on the epigraphical discoveries made in the American excavations of the Athenian Agora present drawings or photographs of every fragment. Many journals do not handle illustrations easily, and considerations of expense or of convenience frequently hinder the adequate use of facsimiles.

19. Cf. e.g. the corrections in the Agora texts made by Roussel and Robert from the published photographs (*B.C.H.*, 1935, p. 520; 1936, p. 386). Feyel (*R.E.A.*, vol. xl, 1938, p. 335) ought not to have attributed these errors to the editor's use of squeezes, and it is wrong of him to say that the corrections were made from examination of the stone, when he meant examination of the published photographs — quite a different thing. Daux, from the published photographs of *Hesperia*, vol. v, 1936,

no. 15, was able to suggest in line 34 the reading [ἄλλην ἐμ Πεπραιέτ], an improvement on Meritt's original reading, [εἰκόνα χαλκῆ]. In Robert's *Collection Froehner* the photograph has made possible an improvement in his text of no. 34 by the reading Δτ Κρονίου σάρα[κτι] (cf. *A.J.P.*, vol. LIX, 1938, p. 500). Examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely, but the advantage of photographic publication for the sake of critical study must in any case be obvious.

20. Hondius, *Saxa Loquuntur*, pp. 2-3, recalls Koehler's remarks of caution (*I.G.*, II, 2, p. 1) about relying upon a copied text, and urges the combined use of photographs and squeezes.

21. It might be well to try such badly corroded stones with some special method of photography to see whether favorable results can be obtained. I am not aware that this has been done in the reading of Greek inscriptions.

22. Here reproduced as Fig. 7.

23. There is also the chance for further loss of detail between the stages of half-tone and finished product, and every printer knows the necessity for careful "make-ready" and expert use of ink and paper.

24. The fact that these two fragments belong together was determined first by the use of squeezes. The letters have the same size and the same spacing, and Dow believes that both pieces were inscribed by the same hand. Fragment A honors prytaneis of the tribe P[----] and Fragment B honors prytaneis of the tribe Ptolemais. Fragment A shows an irregularity of order in decrees and citations which is compensated in Fragment B. See Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

25. In the early work done by West and Meritt on the tribute lists, it was for this reason sometimes impossible to match together photographs of stones which were known to join, and the progress of building up on paper a reconstruction of the very complex tribute-quota stelai was considerably hindered until this difficulty had been overcome.

26. Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, p. 46, Fig. 9.

27. An early publication of the new piece is much to be desired. A photograph is given by Stevens, *Hesperia*, Supplement III, p. 78, Fig. 59.

28. I have commented elsewhere upon the dangers of taking precise linear measurements for the horizontal and vertical spacing of letters from the squeezes and not from the original stones (*Cl. Phil.*, vol. XXXIV, 1939, p. 384).

29. The most satisfactory paper found practicable for use at the American excavations in the Athenian Agora is a filter paper manufactured by A. Gallenkamp in London. The firm of Carter-Rice in Boston is now experimenting with a view to providing an improved paper made primarily for epigraphical purposes. Experiments have also been made in the impregnation of the paper so as to render it more durable.

30. Through the activity of Mr. A. Raubitschek and Miss L. H. Jeffery, a fairly good collection of photographs of the early Athenian votive offerings is now available at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. A new fragment was found by Oliver in 1935 on the south slope of the Akropolis and the whole document has been republished by him in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. LXVI, 1935, pp. 177-198, with a photograph on Plate 1 and a drawing on Plate 2.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 184-185. This determination is made principally on the evidence of the desirable restoration in lines 29-31.

3. In view of the fact that the scribe wrote in line 3 *χωνγγραφεῖ* instead of the more conventional spelling *χωνγγραφεῖ* it is possible that the restoration in line 1 should be [Μ]λεστ[ορ] *χωνγγραφεῖ*. I note the regularity in relationship between the large and small letters as an instructive parallel to the way in which the letters in the heading *τάχσεις φόροι* in *I.G.*, 1², 63, were inscribed over every seventh letter of the assessment decree. Cf. Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment*, p. 31; *A.J.P.*, vol. LVIII, 1937, p. 153.

4. *Rev. de Phil.*, vol. LXV, 1939, pp. 107-109. The reading [Μεγ]λο[ν] was originally proposed by Foucart, but rejected in the *Corpus*.

5. Johnson in *A.J.P.*, vol. XXXIV, 1913, pp. 404-405; *idem*, *Cl. Phil.*, vol. IX, 1914, p. 433; cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 173; Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 24-25; Meritt, *Hesperia*, vol. IV, 1935, p. 585.

6. There is apparently no way at present of determining what the name must have been, except that long names like Phedostratos can now be eliminated. Cf. *Hesperia*, vol. VII, 1938, p. 142.

7. Another example, which presents a case in which the symmetry of the sculptured representation above the right margin proves that the right margin itself should be drawn in rather than extended, is to be found in Robert, *Collection Froehner*, vol. I, no. 5. See the suggestion in *A.J.P.*, vol. LIX, 1938, pp. 499-500.

8. *I.G.*, P, 66.

9. It was so recorded also by Hicks, *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, vol. I, p. 16.

10. A sinistra margo (?).

11. This correction in the description of fragment *a* was noted by Wade-Gery, *B.S.A.*, vol. XXXIII, p. 122, note 1. The correct position of the margins on both fragments is given by Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, pp. 43-49 and Plate II, and by Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, vol. I, Plate xxiv. We have already commented, p. 38 above, on the error in Dow's suggestion (*A.J.A.*, vol.

XLII, 1938, p. 602), based on a study of the photograph, that the right margin of *a* was thus incorrectly determined.

12. Cf. the photograph in Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 48, Fig. 10, and Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *op. cit.*, I, p. 122, Fig. 177. This lowest fragment was also given an incorrect position in the publication by Kirchhoff in *I.G.*, I, 38.

13. That it was square was observed by Dow, *A.J.A.*, vol. XLII, 1938, p. 602.

14. *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, p. 55 and Plate II.

15. A photograph of the new fragment is now given by Stevens in *Hesperia*, Supplement III, p. 78, Fig. 59.

16. *I.G.*, II², 2496 may be cited as an analogous instance of asymmetrical arrangement, in which an uninscribed area was left in the upper right corner of the surface of the stone.

17. Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, pp. 3 and 25.

18. See *A.J.A.*, vol. XXIX, 1925, p. 295. The fragment is now published as no. 3 of the Second Stele by Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 71. Draftings were carried along the newly cut edges of the two halves of the stone, after the stele had been cut in two by some post-classical mason. The assessment for which this fragment gives evidence of date was that of the Panathenaic year 438 B.C.

19. See Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, pp. 27–30.

20. This fragment was published as part of a different inscription in *I.G.*, I², 64, and in Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 66, p. 159 (from notes of West), but is now reunited with other fragments of the list of 425. Cf. Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment*, pp. 25–27 and Fig. 13; also Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, pp. 115–116, Figs. 165 and 166.

21. See Fig. 13. This piece is now known as fragment 37 of the assessment decree.

22. Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment*, pp. 25–26, with a photograph in Fig. 13 (p. 27). Cf. also Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *loc. cit.*

23. Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, pp. 117–120; text on p. 158.

24. Cf. the text of A10 in *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 158, col. IV, line 30.

25. *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 116, Figs. 168 and 169.

26. *Gnomon*, vol. xii, 1936, pp. 297–298.

27. Cf. Nesselhauf, *op. cit.*; Kolbe, *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CLIII, pp. 568–569; *Sitzungsberichte Ak. Berlin*, 1937, pp. 172–188; Meritt, *A.J.P.*, vol. LVIII, 1937, pp. 153–154; vol. LIX, 1938, pp. 297–300.

28. *A.J.P.*, vol. LIX, 1938, p. 300.
29. *J.H.S.*, vol. LIII, 1933, p. 134.
30. Cf. *Hesperia*, vol. V, 1936, pp. 362-380.
31. See the photographs, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
32. See above, p. 62.
33. Cf. *Hesperia*, vol. V, 1936, p. 384.
34. See Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, drawing on Plate I. A new fragment which joins fragment d has been found by Broneer on the north slope of the Akropolis. Cf. *Hesperia*, vol. IV, 1935, pp. 158-159.
35. *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, pp. 91-94; text on p. 149.
36. List 26; see the text in *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 150.
37. A bibliography for the history of the study is given in this latter volume.
38. Cf. *S.E.G.*, vol. III, no. 14.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber*. Leiden, 1588.
2. "Quum ex ipsa literarum forma, tempus seu aetas, qua quaeque res scripta est, cognosci sere possit." Cf. Hondius, *Saxa Loquuntur*, p. 7.
3. Hondius, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
4. This style was recognized by Wilhelm (*Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen*, pp. 63-64) and is described by Dow in *A.J.A.*, vol. XI, 1936, pp. 58-59. Its principal characteristics are that alpha, delta, and lambda are open at the top, that the writing is not stoichedon, that the letters themselves and the interspaces between them are broad, and that the stonemasons exhibited a decided preference for beginning each new line with a new word or syllable. At this period Hymettian marble was generally used instead of Pentelic, and the stelai were relatively narrow.
5. See Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, pp. 5-6; Meritt, *A.J.P.*, vol. LVI, 1936, p. 226.
6. E.g. *I.G.*, I², 97: [*ἱόκος δ' ἀν τὸ φέρεισμα τόδε ξι σκο*]πὲν τὸ[ι] βολομένοι, ἀναγραφότο *ho γραμματεὺς τ]*ῆς βολ[έ]τ[ο] . . . ; *I.G.*, I², 127: [*θέντον* ἔμπροσθεν τὸ ἀγορα]ούσιο [σκοπὲν τὸι] βολ[ομένοι]; Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 579 (Γ69 §17): *καραθέντων* ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀργυροκο]πίου σκοπέντωι βοι[λομένωι].
7. Jowett's translation.
8. See L. I. Highby, *Klio*, Beiheft XXXVI, 1936; cf. also W. Kolbe, *Hermes*, vol. LXXXIII, 1938, pp. 249-268.
9. See Kolbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 256 ff.
10. See J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, vol. II, 1933, pp. 494-497. Oliver dis-

cusses also a new treaty between Athens and Hermione of about the same date, recently found in the Agora.

11. See J. H. Oliver, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. LXVI, 1935, pp. 177-198.

12. Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, 66: "sepulchris autem novis finivit modum; nam super terrae tumulum noluit quidquam statui nisi columellam tribus cubitis ne altiorum aut mensam aut labellum et huic procurationi certum magistratum praefeccerat." See Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 42. Cf. also Kirchner, "Attische Grabstelen des dritten und zweiten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *Arch. Eph.* 1937, pp. 338-340.

13. *Hesperia*, vol. IV, 1935, p. 87.

14. Cf. Meritt, *A.J.P.*, vol. LVII, 1936, p. 226.

15. *J.H.S.*, vol. I, 1930, p. 293, and *Num. Chron.*, series v, vol. x, 1930, p. 17.

16. For photographs of the inscription see Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, Plates XIV, XV, XVI.

17. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, p. 20.

18. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, pp. 16-37; Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 283, note on Οάσοι in List 46. Cf. also the record of List 46, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

19. *Treasurers of Athens*, p. 19, note 1.

20. *Riv. di Fil.*, vol. XIII, 1935, pp. 205-213.

21. Meritt, "Archelaos and the Decelean War," pp. 246-252.

22. See Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 203.

23. Cf. Suidas, s.v. Σαμίων ὁ ὄντως: — — παρὰ Σαμίοις εὑρέθη πρώτοι τὰ καὶ γράμματα ὑπὸ Καλλιστράτου, ὁς Ἀιδρῶν ἐν Τρίποδες τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναῖον ἔπεισε χρῆσθαι τοὺς τῶν Ἰάνων γράμμασιν Ἀρχίκος ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος ἐκλεκτῶν.

24. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, pp. 175-178.

25. *B.S.A.*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 122-134.

26. Wade-Gery, *op. cit.*, p. 134, gives the *terminus ad quem* as 409 but the reorganization of the boards of treasurers which brought about the elimination of the kolakretai occurred two years earlier. Cf. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, p. 3. I have a further suggestion for line 12 of the composite inscription. The words ἐμ πόλει should be substituted for τὸ δῆμον in the restored part of the line. The new restoration gives the familiar formula *ho δὲ γραμματεὺς ho τὴς βοιλὲς ἀνα[γραφάτο] ἐμ πόλει* *κετέλει* [λιθίνει — — —].

27. A decree of the year of Charikles is illustrated by Kirchner in *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, no. 89, to show the script of 239/8.

28. *Hesperia*, vol. V, 1936, pp. 419-428.

29. Cf. Kirchner, *op. cit.*, no. 85 and Meritt, *Hesperia*, vol. iv, 1935, p. 582.

30. *Hesperia*, Supplement I.

31. Feyel, *R.E.A.*, vol. xi, 1938, pp. 331-335.

32. Dow wrote that "The lettering itself suggests 194/3 B.C." The statement seems unduly precise; what Dow means is that the lettering appeared to him suitable for the early second century and that the evidence of the secretary cycle made 194/3 the best choice of date. The secretary's name has the demotic 'Αλωκερηθεν, and his tribal affiliation is with Antiochis, the eleventh tribe in the official order after 200 B.C. If the document were to be dated in the first decade of the second century, the suitable year would therefore be 195/4 rather than 194/3. Cf. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 28.

33. *Hesperia*, vol. vii, 1938, p. 135.

34. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 702. A photograph is published in *Hesperia*, Supplement I, p. 64.

35. R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1938. Cf. reviews by Pritchett in *A.J.A.*, vol. XLIII, 1939, pp. 534-536, by Meritt in *Cl. Phil.*, vol. XXXIV, 1939, pp. 383-385, and by Woodward in *Cl. Rep.*, vol. LIII, 1939, pp. 204-206. Austin has a popular account in *Greece and Rome*, vol. VIII, 1939, pp. 129-138 (with Plates III and IV).

36. See also Dow, *Hesperia*, Supplement I, p. 30.

37. See Dow, *Hesperia*, Supplement I, pp. 70 and 145. Feyel, *R.E.A.*, vol. xi, 1938, p. 333, is inclined to minimize the value of such evidence, but the number of stoichedon texts is so small and their incidence so scattered after this critical date, that one would need strong reasons for dating a stoichedon document after it in point of time.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Such a list is presented in the publication of *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, vol. I, made by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor in 1939.

2. Dow had read τετραβουλεῖ instead of τετραδήμωι in the fifth line here quoted, but cf. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, vol. LX, 1939, p. 260.

3. *R.E.A.*, vol. xi, 1938, pp. 331-335.

4. *Études sur l'Histoire Financière d'Athènes*, Plate I.

5. *I.G.*, II², 64, lines 1-9.

6. See West, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, vol. III, 1931, p. 190.

7. The preserved letter in line 3 is clearly rho, not omicron. See the photograph in Fig. 20.

8. *Ber. Ph. Woch.*, 1916, pp. 1067-1068.

9. E.g., *A.J.A.*, vol. XXIX, 1925, p. 59, note 2.

10. Cf. *A.J.A.*, vol. XXX, 1926, p. 149 and note 1.

11. West, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. LVII, 1926, p. 69, note 35.
12. W. Kolbe, "Die Kleon-Schatzung des Jahres 425/4," *Sitzungsberichte Ak. Berlin*, 1930, pp. 333-354.
13. *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, vol. III, 1931, pp. 174-193.
14. See the text in *The Athenian Assessment*, p. 65.
15. L. Robert, *Rev. de Phil.*, vol. LXII, 1936, p. 278, has made something of a point of the fact that Symbra and Myra could not both be restored at the same time because in fact the two towns are nowhere near each other. It was not intended that the restorations should be considered simultaneously. The suggestions offered were for the individual lines only and we wished to imply merely that perhaps one or the other might deserve attention. They were not both given in the transcript.
16. The reading 'Opariēr[at]' in List 2, col. I, line 16, and the reading 'O[ρ]ανēr[at]' in List 4, col. V, line 27, had already been correctly made by Meritt and West and identified with 'Opariēr[at]' of the Assessment Decree. Cf. *The Athenian Assessment*, pp. 18-19.
17. *Études Épigraphiques et Philologiques*, p. 243, note.
18. Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 156: Ag, col. I, lines 111-119.
19. The geographical location has been discussed by the same authors, *op. cit.*, p. 553, s.v. Τάραντας.
20. Cf. *I.G.*, I², 98/99. The notes on these inscriptions show the extent of his reliance on Thucydides.
21. A pertinent tribute to the usefulness of Hiller's *Corpus* is given by Hondius, *Saxa Loquuntur*, p. 45: Hiller zelf nam de zwarc en ondankbare taak van een nieuwe uitgave der prae-Euclidische inscripties op zich. Ondankbaar, omdat dit Corpus door den tijd en de plants, die het behandelt, het 5e-eeuwsch Athene, tengevolge der hernieuwde, intensieve bestudeering van het in het Corpus gemakkelijk toegankelijk geworden materiaal, spoediger dan eenig ander deel, dreigt te verouderen. Dat het Corpus dan daarmee tevens zijn taak vervuld heeft, had Hiller, wien een spelning van het lot juist dit deel deed uitgeven, jaren tevoren zeer juist aldus geformuleerd: "Die Corpora sollen nie und nirgends den Abschluss bringen; sie sind Etappen in der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, die sie erleichtern, sichern und fördern." Zulk een etappe was de nieuwe uitgave der oudste Attische inscripties. Ze bracht het grootendeels bekende materiaal in een voor ieder gemakkelijk toegankelijk, overzichtelijk gehele verbeterd bijeen en stimulerende aldus allerwege dermate tot nieuwe studie, dat in afzienbare toekomst wederom een hernieuwde uitgave van dit deel noodig zal zijn ---.
22. The text is now given in Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, pp. 136-143. In lines 18-19 Αιγαῖος should be restored instead of

Οἰνεῖδος (cf. *A.J.P.*, vol. LVII, 1936, p. 390). In line 27 *νέοις* should be restored in place of *τερίσοις* (cf. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 64). A new fragment belonging to lines 61-65 is published by Broneer, *Hesperia*, vol. IV, 1935, pp. 158-159.

23. The text is now given in Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, pp. 154-157. Nesselhauf, *Gnomon*, vol. XII, 1936, p. 296, objects to what he calls "dieser keine Grenzen kennende Drang zur Vollständigkeit" and believes that one should forego the attempt at literal restoration. I see no reason to change the opinion with respect to this criticism which I have published in *A.J.P.*, vol. LVIII, 1937, p. 156.

24. Austin, *Stoichedon Style*, p. 33, gives the width and height of each chequer in the stoichedon pattern of the decrees of *I.G.*, 1², 63, as 0.017 m. and 0.0135 m. respectively. See above, p. 106.

25. Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, vol. I, Plate xxii, show the text with restorations in red.

26. Kahrstedt (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 197 [1935], pp. 51-52) is equally emphatic: "Zeile 16 sind die *ρομόθεται* ergänzt, um ein 'neues Gericht,' d.h. einen neuen Hof der Heliaia zu schaffen. Das ist so unmöglich, dass ich hier ausnahmsweise wagen möchte, das kleine Steinfragment, das zu der Ergänzung geführt hat, zu versetzen oder aus der Inschrift auszuschalten. Die Nomotheten sind erstmalig 403 gebildet worden, um auf Grund der Aktenarbeit einer Kommission einen neuen Kodex für Athen zu schaffen (Lys. xxx 2 ff. 17 ff. 25 f.; Andok. I 81 u.ö.; Demosth. xxiv 42 und viele andere Stellen)." Subsequently Kahrstedt has again returned to the problem (*Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen*, p. 284, note 2): "Meritt, Amer. Journ. Phil. 1935, 323 will mit den *ρομόθεται* in das 5. Jhd. zurück wegen Thukyd. VIII 97, 2; hier handelt es sich um die Schaffung der Verfassung von 411/0, die sog. Verfassung des Theramenes, also die Leute von Aristot. 29, 5, die den Text von 30, 1ff schufen. Letzterer bedurfte des *κυρωθήσας* (natürlich durch das Volk), und die Kommission ist mittan im Amtsjahre bestellt, sie hat mit den *ρομόθεται* des 4. Jhdts nichts gemein." I do not consider it at all necessary that the nomothetai of 411 should be supposed to have anything in common with those of the fourth century. The significant fact is that, in view of the evidence of Thucydides, one cannot say that nomothetai were first instituted in 403. There was a board of nomothetai which was created and which functioned in 411. Quite irrespective of the fourth century, may there not also have been a board in 425?

27. A similar suggestion was once made by Wade-Gery, *C.I. Rev.*, vol. XLIX, 1935, p. 186: "Were there, really, standing officials called Nomothetai, in the fifth century, who empanelled jurors? Since there is no room for [θερμο]θεται, I suspect some cutter's error such as [θερμο]θεται or [θερμη]θεται."

28. I eliminate as too speculative the suggestion that the stonemason was provided with an imperfect copy before he began his work.

29. The failure to cut horizontal strokes in two letters of ΓΕΔΑΣΕΣ was occasioned by the wish of the stonemason not to change his broad chisel for the narrow one until he had finished the end of the line. (See Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment*, p. 26.) No such economy of effort can be pleaded as the excuse for failing to cut two round letters in succession in line 16.

30. See *A.J.P.*, vol. LVI, 1935, p. 323; vol. LVIII, 1937, p. 155.

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* An asterisk denotes that a new restoration is proposed.

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